



OUR  
Nation's Need.

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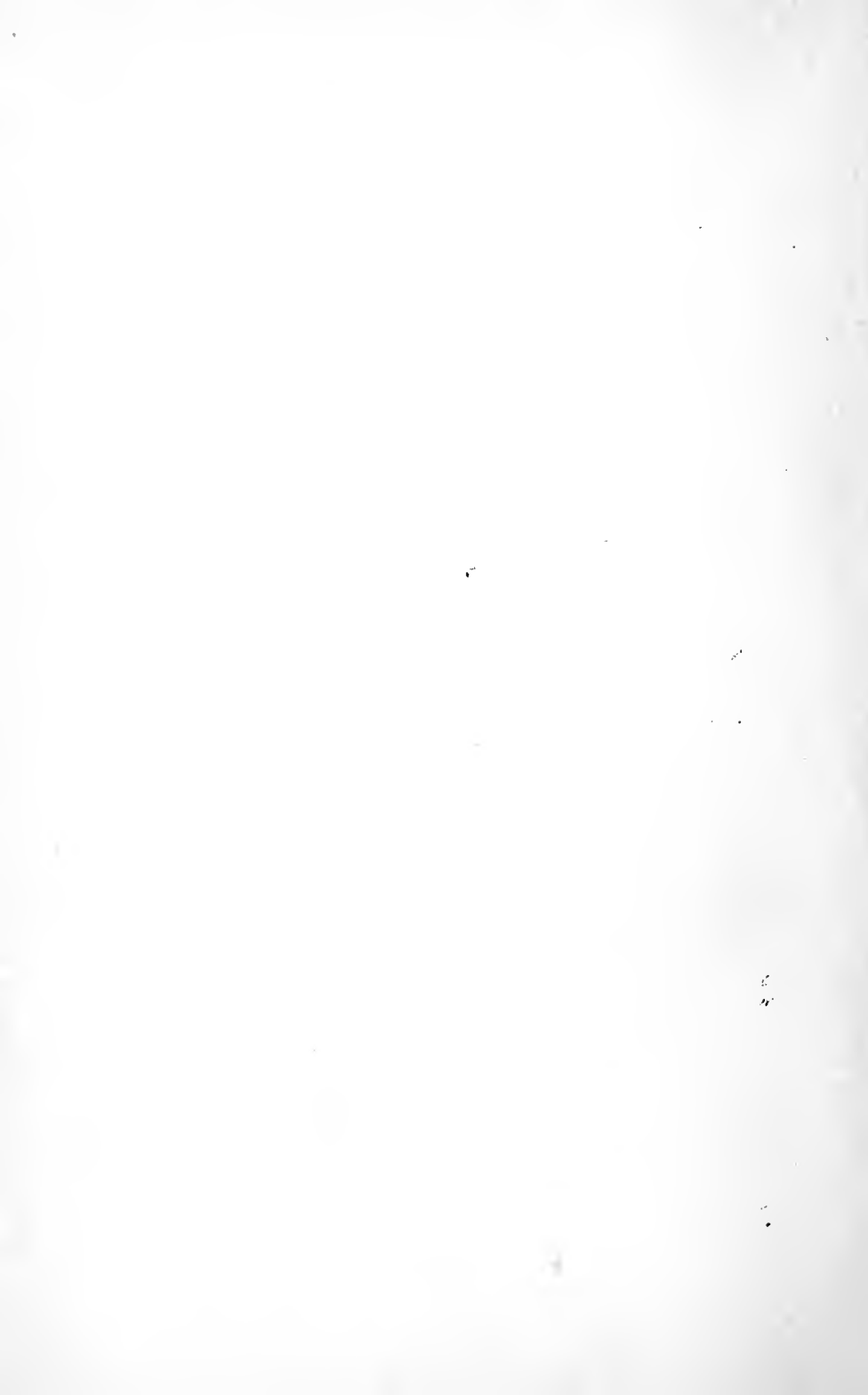
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.





Nothing.  
To divide up?  
J. A. Conwell  
Has much has Conwell

# OUR NATION'S NEED;

OR,

LET US ALL DIVIDE UP AND START EVEN.

BY

J. A. CONWELL.

Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

—JESUS CHRIST.

But they shall sit every man under his vine and  
under his fig-tree ; and none shall make them afraid.

—THE LORD.

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NEW YORK:  
J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY,  
57 ROSE STREET.

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## PREFACE.

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A DIVISION of our national wealth among all the people, as a political measure, must be regarded as an entirely new feature in American politics. A variety of remedies for existing evils and conditions has been proposed by political economists and championed by political parties, but a divide-up and start-even has not been one of them.

The measure will not impress the mind favorably at first thought. It appears too far-reaching, too difficult, too revolutionary. But when the subject is carefully and deeply studied these impressions vanish, and the adoption of the measure appears not only possible, but practicable and wise. In magnitude it is no greater than the nation. In its scope it is no farther-reaching than the claims and interests of citizenship and family life.

That a political question should embrace every section of the country and place equal privileges within reach of every individual is a paramount merit. To make a propaganda of sectional issues or to thrust into political life those things which benefit merely a few can only be productive of evil. Genuine statesmanship can consider nothing less than the interests of all the people.

A divide-up and start-even may be revolutionary, but this is no reason why it should not be adopted. The world owes untold obligations to revolutionary measures. It requires a great issue to arouse mankind to action. Reforms are almost sure of defeat. History is crowded with dead reforms that expired through lack of support, but revolutions have made history. The lesser measures fail to secure the following that is essential to success.

America is rapidly making a new history. Neither the experiences of its own past career nor the example of other nations can point out our future pathway. Our higher

civilization and unrivaled progress demand the adoption of new and extraordinary factors in government. While these facts are true when applied to human affairs in general, they are specially true when applied to financial inequalities among the people. Nothing but a tremendous force can uproot long-established customs and deep-seated conditions, no matter how unjust or oppressive they may be.

Concentrated wealth and diffused poverty has become a national characteristic. The condition is so pronounced that the border line of danger has been crossed. That plutocracy and poverty, with their attendant evils, shall become the dominant issue in politics in the near future is inevitable. Nothing less than an equitable division of all property among all the people will meet existing requirements. It is the quickest, the easiest, and the fairest remedy for the evils that beset us. Wealth is too strong and aggressive to submit, and poverty is too weak and apathetic to respond, to ordinary remedies.

This book is the result of a long and systematic course of study among men. Our national conditions and customs, including the political, financial, industrial, and social situation, have been carefully considered. Thousands of miles have been traveled, and the farm and the store, the mine and the mill, the church and the school, the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the high and the low—people and things as they are—have been severally and collectively studied. History, while its fabric was being woven in the complex loom of activity, rather than books, has been the chief source of investigation. As Luther said at the Diet of Worms, "*Hier stehe ich; ich kann nicht anders,*" so it can be claimed that what is here written has been penned under the full assurance of its wisdom and truth. Conviction and not sentiment here seeks expression.

The principles involved in a general divide-up and start-even have an authoritative history, and of the honesty and fairness of the measure, if exigencies demand it, there is not room for the remotest doubt. It was first instituted in obedience to a direct command from God. It is a conspicuous and distinguishing feature of Holy

**Writ.** It was practiced with more or less regularity by a chosen people for seven centuries. These commands are still preserved as a sacred and inspired message to men. If not literally binding, they are of preëminent value for our instruction. During the ages in which these laws were obeyed the world reached its highest wisdom and enjoyed its richest favors. Stretching over the destinies of the Hebrew race and as enduring as the dome of heaven were the promises of the Almighty; in its care were the sacred oracles of divine law, and in the veins of its people flowed the ancestral blood of the Messiah. Upon the strict observance of these laws did the prosperity and peace of the people depend. History plainly teaches that the decline of power and the misfortunes among the people of ancient Canaan were a sure result when selfishness supplanted equity and justice among the people. When the principles of equity were again established under the reign of Christianity, dividing-up, in all its essential features, was again practiced. And again do we learn from history that the Dark Ages were the direct result of the triumph of greed over the principles taught by the disciples.

That the teachings of this book will meet opposition is inevitable. But adverse criticism is not conclusive evidence that a doctrine is false or that a book is vicious. If any thought or sentiment here expressed conflicts with the highest type of patriotism, the best interests of the nation, or the most critical rendering of divine teaching, none could more profoundly regret it than the author. Moreover, it has been the constant aim to be fair at every point to both rich and poor, and it is hoped that the volume will be found entirely free from everything that need arouse a spirit of hatred or passion.

“With charity for all and malice toward none” has been the spirit in which the book has been written. While the study of the subject has profoundly impressed the author with the imperative need of a divide-up and start-even, yet at no time have feelings other than those of genuine love for both rich and poor stirred his heart. He who searches the book to feed fires of hatred toward the rich will search in vain. He who reads it to find food for thought and an inspiration to patriotic political ser-

vice, it is prayerfully and tearfully hoped, will not be turned away empty.

There is cause in the state of our beloved country for serious concern. Every man in the nation is responsible for, and is called upon to exercise, his best thought and effort. We cannot all see alike. We cannot all agree. But we can all be sincere in faith and loyal in action. Out of our honest differences and inevitably conflicting opinions will come, in due time, the happy solution of all questions upon which the peace and prosperity of our country depend.

The book is not sent forth as an exhaustive treatise upon the subject. Not only could almost every point have been enlarged upon, but a legion of facts and thoughts crowd about the subject for recognition. The subject is boundless in its scope and its application is almost without limit. Nothing but determined effort has kept the book within its present compass. The theme offers a rich field for study and thought. It is worthy to engage the services of the best intellect and talent the nation possesses. May many so endowed enlist in its cause!

THE AUTHOR.

*September, 1900.*

## PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

*It is with special pleasure that the Publishers send forth the present volume to the public. Widely as men may differ in opinions regarding the teachings set forth in the book, all must agree that it is a valuable contribution to the political literature of the day. It is a signal illustration of how political questions of the most advanced sort can be discussed with a sweet temper and in a Christian spirit. Existing parties are not even mentioned, and no man is thrust with a single arrow. The book is a mine of information. It is rich in thought. In suggestion it has, we believe, no rival. Many of its paragraphs are gems of truth and wisdom worthy of the widest circulation. Those interested in political progress will find it an indispensable companion and book of reference. It is not the ventilation of a hobby, but it is broad and comprehensive in its scope. It is timely. It is wholesome and instructive. It is forceful and inspiring. Its universal perusal could not be other than a great uplift to the politics of the nation.*

THE PUBLISHERS.

"On earth peace, good-will toward men."

My country, 'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee I sing:  
Land where my fathers died,  
Land of the pilgrim's pride,  
From every mountain side  
Let freedom ring.—SMITH.

No man has come to true greatness who has not felt, in some degree, that his life belongs to his race, and that what God gives him He gives him for mankind.—PHILLIPS BROOKS.

Prosperity is best secured when the medium-class income prevails; when no citizen is so rich that he can buy others, and no one so poor that he might be compelled to sell himself.—ROUSSEAU.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

It is not to be assumed, as is done by most writers on this subject, that the modern form of the distribution of wealth is the final and perfect one; and that society, as it is now, is substantially what it must be in all coming ages, or what our Lord contemplated in His future "Kingdom of Heaven."—C. LORING BRACE.

Half the world is on the wrong scent in pursuit of happiness. They think it consists in having and getting and in being served by others. It consists in giving and serving others. "He that would be great among you," said Christ, "let him remember that there is but one way—it is more blessed, it is more happy, to give than to receive."—HENRY DRUMMOND.

# OUR NATION'S NEED.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY—THE PHILOSOPHY OF A DIVIDE-UP.

IN considering the subject of a general divide-up of the wealth of the United States among all the people and allowing everybody to start even, it is to be decided, first, whether or not the measure is a legitimate or essential factor in popular government. Can the process of government operate in the broadest, fairest, and best sense indefinitely without resort to it? Does the common good never require the adoption of such a measure? Would a divide-up and start-even correct abuses and remove unjust conditions which will not yield to any other influence? In a word, is it the only remedy for certain evils which, in the course of human events, even under the best form of government, are liable to fasten themselves upon a nation?

If a divide-up of property is never necessary; if other measures will meet all requirements; if other available remedies are less objectionable and more easily applied; if the machinery of popular government is complete and adequate without it, then the subject has no claims whatever to serious consideration.

But if it is necessary; if other measures fail to remove unjust conditions and to remedy prevailing evils; if the combined action of all other legitimate policies fails to meet the demands of progress and civilization; and if the execution of a general divide-up will give to our laws and efforts a symmetry and completeness which they now lack, then the measure is entitled to respect and should be adopted. If it is the only cure, or even the best remedy, for certain inevitable and otherwise incorrigible evils, it

becomes a patriotic and sacred duty to resort to it and thus secure the benefits and blessings which it alone can bring.

If we closely examine the philosophy which underlies the measure, we shall plainly see that it would counteract certain morbid outgrowths of *human nature* that can be reached in no other way. Dividing-up and the cancellation of debts were not enjoined upon the government of Israel forty centuries ago without a good reason. From the councils of heaven it came forth as a vital part of the most perfect plan to promote peace and prosperity among a favored nation that divine wisdom could teach.

It was then an actual necessity. It aims at and effectually holds in reasonable check those traits in our make-up—the essence of human nature—which are beyond the control of law or even religion. No fact is more evident or more universally admitted than that man's human nature is his chief development, and that nothing so quickly errs, nothing so often invades forbidden fields, and nothing is so difficult to control; and at no time is this human nature so erring, so intensely selfish, or so heedless and uncontrollable as when running in the race for wealth.

No matter how thoroughly a people may be provided with good laws, or how consistently they may obey the precepts of religion, they will inevitably, as time passes on, show a great diversity of achievement. Our inherent force and talents exhibit marked extremes, and we operate in an endless variety of fields. Only time and the full exercise of our energies are needed for extremes in accomplishment, including the acquirement of wealth, to ensue. Some will succeed, while others fail. Out of the same materials some will build palaces and others hovels. Some will grow rich, while others will become poor. Some avocations tend toward wealth and others toward its opposite. The same talent, or effort, or ambition may lead to either financial extreme—success or failure. The final result will be unnatural, undesirable, and unjust conditions. Perhaps, after all, the actual ability of man has less to do with financial success than many thoughtful observers are apt to believe.

When extremes of wealth and poverty have grown so pronounced as to become a menace to the public good, if no other adequate remedy exists a divide-up is a necessity. At such times it becomes not simply a philanthropic, but an economic measure. It might well be considered as the missing link in our political history, as the lost art in the genius of government.

Viewed from a proper standpoint, a divide-up and start-even at once becomes a subject of vital interest. For there is every reason for believing that it would largely settle the unsolved problems of the nations. The momentous questions of modern times are those which concern wealth and poverty, capital and labor. In the midst of the extremes, which have grown so pronounced and universal, the greatest statesmen of the world stand apparently helpless. In the face of persistent discontent, intense political agitation, and legislative consideration, unjust inequalities and financial evils exist and constantly increase. Subjected to all applied remedies, they survive as the incurable political and social disease.

Inequalities, although natural and wholesome at first, become actual evils through slow processes. Their injustice may exist and grow in a nation for generations and not seriously disturb industry or society; and to some extent it will correct itself. But when a certain point is reached; when the injustice becomes widespread and overpowering; when its burdens begin to crush; when man must bow to it and not simply endure; when industry and society lose their recuperative powers; when permanent and organic lesions in the body financial, social, and political have become fixed, then ordinary laws and ordinary remedies, no matter how vigilantly applied, become noneffective and vain. At such times mankind is thrown upon its own responsibility. The deeper qualities of soul are stirred. Character is tempered in the furnace of sacrifice. But in the struggle humanity triumphs and lifts itself to a higher plane. The world has witnessed many such struggles. It is God's way of making a footprint in human history.

As with an individual, so it is with a nation. For the establishment of its own stability of character it is essen-

tial that it occasionally undergo a test of its strength and virtue. Pure gold is secured only through the application of the purifying fire, and only through hotly contested warfares between right and wrong, justice and oppression, are the worthy principles of nations developed and made secure. "Nations are benefited for ages," says Carlyle, "by being thrown once into divine white heat in this manner, and no nation that has not had such divine paroxysms at any time is apt to come to much." It is essential that every element, whether true or false, noble or base, face the force of the storm—that all things be shaken "that those things which cannot be shaken may remain."

Conditions demanding the exercise of extraordinary forces in government exist to-day. Current laws, no matter how impartial or how considerate they are of the weak against the strong, fail to meet the requirements. The demand for a special force in the realm of government is heard and felt upon every side. The chief need of this force is shown in the widespread prevalence of concentrated wealth and diffused poverty. The need and practicability of a general divide-up and start-even are as clear to the unbiased mind as the need of rain when the earth is parched by continued sunshine or the need of bread when the people are starving with hunger.

When accorded the place it deserves among the issues operating to promote the best welfare of the nation, a divide-up becomes not only an honest and desirable policy, but accords with wise statesmanship and sound business principles.

A fact not to be misconstrued is: a divide-up would be simply the application of a remedy and not the adoption of a political system to rule or embarrass the future. It is a cure for the present great national disease and the evils growing out of it, and not the creation of a new form of government. As a remedy it may be severe, but its execution has no binding effect upon the future. Medicine is often unpleasant in its taste and action, and when the disease for which it is administered is cured it is discontinued. When a nation takes up arms and engages in warfare, it is not the intention that such action

shall be perpetual. So it is with a divide-up of property. There are doubtless unpleasant features surrounding it. It would disturb the ease of many. It would thwart the plans of not a few. Its virtue may be limited to actual needs. Its operation should cease when normal conditions were restored. It is not here even claimed that a universal level of wealth among all the people is in itself desirable. On the contrary, a reasonable diversity of ownership is both wholesome and proper. To coerce the people to such a universal level as a permanent state, through the power of law, would be a doom rather than blessing. But a universal level is absolutely safe and affords a desirable starting-point from which natural and desirable diversities of wealth and action radiate.

If extremes of wealth and poverty need correcting, it is deeply essential that only proper and effective remedies be employed. By analyzing the various forces, issues, and policies which have molded and are now shaping public affairs, it is easily seen that to each belongs a limited scope of usefulness, and that each has been a blessing only when operating within its own legitimate field. Warfare, legislation, religion, and social movements have resulted in good only when filling their respective missions. War, the most conspicuous factor in history, has benefited mankind only when its aid was imperative to enthrone a righteous cause. Laws, although they form the structure upon which society is founded and are of varied application, lose their virtue and inflict an injury when they operate beyond their proper sphere. Religion, the most sacred and potent force in the world, has often become a cruel despotism by assuming an authority it has no right to claim.

Legislators and statesmen have no plainer duty than to see that these and every other worthy measure perform their proper mission. Within its own sphere, every desirable element of force should be made to exercise its full power. The nation is entitled to all the benefits that can come from the harmonious coöperation of everything that leads in the direction of the greatest good to the greatest number. To secure such to the people is the proper function of statesmanship.

In the rapid evolutions of civilization, it is natural that some forces, which served well a former age, should lose their virtue, and that other factors rise to meet the requirements of new occasions. But it is seldom safe to lay aside the implements of past victories until we possess the armor of new conquests. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." We can become independent of war only by learning the arts of peace. No sooner are the cruelties of superstition and ignorance overcome than the conflicts against the vices of civilization must begin. When indifference and apathy have been aroused into activity, tempted by morbid ambition, they soon become giants of avarice and greed, to rule or ruin until, through the power of justice, they are subdued.

It is important to learn what forces are involved in present transitions. What elements of power suited to the past have outlived their usefulness?

The chief of these is, unquestionably, war.

For forty centuries war has been a chief dependence in times of great public controversies. Thousands of our citizens believe that the differences existing between capital and labor will eventually culminate in a resort to arms. It is the impression that war purifies and strengthens a government; that it makes business active and profitable; that it removes a surplus of men, giving more room and opportunity for those who survive; and that, in addition to settling differences, it is an essential and economic factor in progressive civilization. The evidences of the past, to the average mind at least, encourage such opinions. While war has been universally deplored, it has been regarded as a necessary evil.

Nothing has been so fruitful of popular glory, nothing so lavish in bestowing fame and renown as war. Indelibly do we write the names of warriors in history, and we adorn sacred niches with monuments to their memory.

But war is doomed. The prophecy that war shall cease, let us hope, is being rapidly fulfilled. It has grown distasteful and is abhorred. "War is hell." It is condemned by public sentiment and by the popular heart. Modern statesmen are rapidly ignoring its claims, and it has ceased to be even considered in genuine reform.

The brutality of war, its cost in life and property, and its antagonism to genuine progress render it peculiarly repugnant to the world's present state of civilization. The Czar of Russia, who is at the head of the largest army in the world, some time ago proposed a peace conference of the nations of the earth. His appeal has not only favorably impressed other rulers, but has sensibly touched the hearts of all mankind. As an outgrowth of his efforts was held the World's Peace Conference, every advance step of which was hailed with universal approval and delight. War has already burdened the nations of the earth by debt to the verge of bankruptcy. Nothing has so impoverished and weakened governments, many of which are hopelessly involved. "Militarism," said Gladstone, "lies like a vampire over Europe." Queen Victoria recently declared: "Sooner than see my kingdom again resort to war, I would pray God that I might die." Yet war has clouded her declining years. War is not only inhuman and un-Christian, but, on account of improved armaments, all humanity stands appalled at its future inevitable magnitude and power to destroy.

But it is a mistake to imagine that war will cease of itself. Nor is it to be subdued by resolutions or international agreements. It will cease only when it is outgrown. It is folly to believe that war can be abolished unless more desirable and effective forces take its place in our political system. It is a delusion to think that when war is no more peace will be free. To be relieved of its dangers and dread is to be clothed with new duties and responsibilities.

A lesson well worth learning is that in the midst of ordinary civilization, war is a law unto itself. It submits to no force, heeds no counsel, obeys no command. War is greater than nations, stronger than resolves, mightier than human will. Power has ever been its willing vassal. Governments have cowered before it like brutes before their master. Heroes and patriots have vied with each other in worshiping at its altars. Religion has been as tinder to feed its crimson flames. Its carnage and blood, its destruction and death only bring glory, dazzling to the brain and inspiring to the heart of all mankind.

"Gentlemen may cry peace! peace! But there is no peace!" exclaimed Patrick Henry, and his words will remain true until war is outwitted and peace honestly and intelligently won. "Give me liberty or give me death" has been the invincible battle-cry of all the ages, and wherever slavery, injustice or oppression abounds, its direful mutterings can be heard to-day. Channing has well said that "war will never yield but to the principles of universal justice and love." Suggestive and true are the words of Whittier:

*"But dream not helm and harness  
The sign of valor true;  
Peace hath higher tests of manhood  
Than battle ever knew."*

If war is the declining star in the political firmament, what new elements of force are required to meet present conditions and harmonize the conflicting interests of progress? What is to characterize the new political system?

The answer to these questions suggests itself. A righteous and equitable adjustment of existing wrongs; just laws; equal privileges and security to all; protection to the home; religious and civil liberty; clean politics; public honesty; private virtue; protection of the innocent against the vicious and of the weak against the strong; proper recognition of labor; equal rights to every one; opportunities to the young; support to the aged; relief to the suffering and maintenance of the national honor. These things must become tenets of faith in the realm of citizenship. That these things become established verities is the prayer of every loyal heart and the zealous aim of all true patriots. These things must in the future, more than they have in the past, characterize our political life if the country is to survive and liberty prevail.

But citizenship is now being denied its political ideals. A gigantic wrong usurps the popular will. This great evil—the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few and the diffusion of poverty and industrial slavery among the many—is seen and felt everywhere. It

permeates every phase of life and has intrenched itself in every form of society. American pluck and ambition, spurred on by unprecedented success, has become an outlaw. Mankind, inspired by a new love, has turned to the worship of Mammon; and mammonism has become the octopus of modern civilization, menacing all that is essential to life and corrupting all that is precious to the heart.

Money has become a god and as such is the root of all evil. Mammonism is the source of most of the misery, crime, and perfidy—things which are constantly growing more pronounced. It has filled our land with distrust and discontent. Its unjust, cruel, and enslaving dominion is a familiar subject at almost every American fireside.

As the outgrowth of the existing extremes of wealth and poverty, a formidable array of evils has developed and their endurance has become the nations' shame. Labor is robbed of its just reward. Success is made within reach of only a few. Crushing competition prevents normal enterprise. The ambitions of the young are defeated and their opportunities destroyed. The poor are made helpless and the aged dependent. The great middle class in trade and enterprise is being wiped out. Trusts and syndicates conspire against the people. Bribery is practiced wholesale. The political boss is enthroned. Elections are little else than a game of farce. Legislation has become a commercial commodity. No business is too base and no practice too vile for human greed. Vice and shame are staple commodities in the markets of sin. The love of gold barter away the bodies and blights the souls of the people. Nothing is more truly remarkable than the way in which all the evils of the present age converge toward a common center—and that center is mammonism.

It is also remarkable how these curses prevail throughout civilization. Mammonism is the besetting sin of Christendom. Concentrated wealth and diffused poverty are the dominating evil in almost every land. Empires, kingdoms, and republics are alike facing the same formidable enemy. Mammonism is the central political problem and the chief barrier to progress everywhere. That the curse universally prevails shows that the same weak feature marks the career of all forms of government.

Proof is abundant that ordinary remedies completely fail in conflicts against the powers of money. In the face of all opposition, the curse of mammonism has constantly grown and become more and more established. Systems of law have proved a failure; organized forces have been in vain. It has fortified itself against every opposition. It has fattened upon war. It is the subtle tempter and canker-worm in times of peace.

But there is a remedy that would destroy this universal plague. *A divide-up and start-even exactly meets the requirements.* It is the political, the social, and the religious issue of the world. Its practicability is not a vague theory. It is not a far-fetched, mysterious scheme that only a few can comprehend. Its results, if carried out, are too plainly apparent to be mere speculation. As an issue in politics it would represent every section and interest.

As an illustration: it would not be difficult to appreciate what a boom a divide-up and start-even would be to the older nations. Take Great Britain and Ireland. For more than a half century the people of these isles have submitted to conditions unfair and infamous in the extreme. Fifty years ago they supported 400,000 paupers, and the number has constantly increased until at present nearly 1,000,000 are receiving public help. The population is a little over 37,000,000, and of these 8,000,000 are constantly on the verge of destitution and 20,000,000 are actually poor. On the other hand, one-half of the national income flows into the pockets of 10,000 persons, and 30,000 capitalists, peers, and lords own 90 per cent. of the land. Over 90 per cent. of the people own no land whatever. Legions are born in poverty, live in penury, and are buried in the potter's field. During these fifty years Great Britain and Ireland have produced some of the greatest statesmen that ever lived. They have been ruled by a sovereign who for private virtue and public interest has seldom been equaled. And the loyalty of the people has been unbounded. In the development of those forces which pertain to material progress and in the intelligence and enterprise of the people no nation has more right to boast. But concentrated wealth and dif-

fused poverty hang like a plague over the people. Plutocracy and poverty is the monumental curse of Great Britain and Ireland to-day, and unless the people arise and free themselves their condition is hopeless. For them to live in submission means privation, oppression, squalor, and dependence for themselves and their children.

If the earth and the fullness thereof is the Lord's and if all mankind are the children of a common Father, it is dishonor to God and disloyalty to human brotherhood not to rise up and, in the name of justice and humanity, to demand a universal and equitable division of property among all the people of these richly favored isles.

Yet what Great Britain and Ireland have done we are doing. We are becoming plutocrats and paupers at a rate without a precedent in all history. By continuing our present policies of finance and business we shall soon exhibit a condition similar in all its chief features and, on account of our free form of government, far more intolerable. Sordid conservatism is already trying to reconcile the laboring man and the masses to their lot. It is being industriously taught that equality, prosperity, and plenty, in the liberal sense, is an idle dream. Mammonism was never more vigilant in organizing and arraying itself against the interests of the people. If allowed to continue it will eventually make poverty a hopeless fate and riches a power invulnerable.

*Nothing can be more apparent than the claims of a divide-up of property as an issue in American politics.* To destroy the greatest evil or to enthrone the greatest good to the greatest number should always be the first aim in political action.

That concentrated wealth and diffused poverty exist as the greatest curse in our nation is apparent to every unbiased and thoughtful observer. It is not only the greatest, but it is the parent evil, and other evils are its offspring. It is of all curses the most world-wide. It has no rival. No other evil is so established; none so universal; none so defiant to law; none so destructive to life and character; none so menacing to human liberty and the life of the republic. It forms the source of contention between capital and labor. It is the bane of so-

ciety, placing a gulf between the classes and the masses. It is the skeleton in the church whose presence God and the angels forsake. It is the autocrat in business, killing the weak and protecting the strong. It is the potent danger behind the monopoly and trust. That it exists in foreign countries to a greater degree than in our own land, making wage-earning more abject and its slavery more secure, is the vital point of the tariff issue. Its power is the backbone of the money question. It is the protecting wall of the liquor business. It is the cesspool in which is drowned the character of men and the virtue of women. It furnishes the sinews of war in dirty politics. It is the sin of the bribe-giver and the shame of the bribe-taker. It is the destruction of the rich and the doom of the poor.

The Civil War opened up a new era in money-making. Steadily and with increasing momentum great fortunes have multiplied and become established. For three decades men have been drifting toward the two extremes until a few possess a very large part—the very cream of our nation's wealth—and the majority of the people are being crushed into poverty, industrial slavery, and hopeless despair.

According to recent and trustworthy authorities upon the subject, the concentration of wealth and the widespread prevalence of poverty is appalling. The safety limit has been crossed.

What are the facts?

One per cent. of the people own over 50 per cent. of the wealth of the United States, and their possessions are the most productive and profitable of which the nation can boast.

Ninety-nine per cent. of the people own less than one-half of the nation's wealth.

One family in a hundred, take the country over, own more than the other ninety-nine families. In other words, ten families in each 1,000 families could buy out the other 990 families and have something left.

Fifty per cent. of the people—over 6,000,000 families—own practically nothing; only their clothes and a little furniture.

Millionaires are counted by thousands. Several fortunes, it is claimed, have passed beyond \$100,000,000 each. Seventy per cent. of the wealth of the entire nation is controlled by 200,000 men.

One million men practically own the United States, while a vast majority of the people are forced to struggle for shelter and bread. The great middle class, so long the strength and glory of the republic is being crowded out. Prosperity is being limited to the few.

According to *Dun's Review* the number of failures in May, 1900, was "not only the largest ever known in that month since such records were made, but of eighty months covered by these returns only six have shown such large liabilities." Of these 947 failures only one was a great concern; the rest were all from the smaller or medium class. *Dun's Review* further says that the amount involved in failures for the first six months of 1900 was more than double that of 1899. Prosperity increasing! Failures doubling!

Notwithstanding the fact that failures among the medium-class enterprises doubled in one year, prosperity among great concerns was never so great. Among the beginners and middle class, competition and bankruptcy were never such a scourge. Fatness and famine are becoming related counterparts in the realm of business. Wealth has grown not only powerful, but aggressive and consuming. Poverty is becoming not only weak, but indifferent and a willing prey. It is a new condition that confronts the American people. Class distinctions, affecting every phase of existence, that have cursed and crushed empires and kingdoms are settling like a vampire upon our own land and are devouring the life-blood of the nation. This condition is becoming a fixed fact and dominates and controls our social and financial system. Its power is overwhelming. It ignores law. It defies correction. It robs youth of opportunity and drives age to penury. It is vice's alluring companion; it is virtue's relentless foe. It blights character and religion. It crushes hope and ambition. It petrifies the heart of the rich and deadens the faith of the poor. It makes of capital an unwilling tyrant and of labor a helpless slave.

It has turned wholesome competition into a wild race for supremacy. In the realm of business men are no longer brothers, but antagonists in a conflict in which money, not manhood, is the ruling force. The abnormal success of the few has made money-making a passion. In the mad rush for fortune we devour each other. In business we have become cannibals—those with much eat up those with little. As the small fish are swallowed by the monster, so it is that the small merchant and manufacturer are swallowed by the great concern whose abundance of capital can control the market and maintain a monopoly. The condition has become the nation's scourge. In its presence law is as tinder and legislators as clay to be molded and manipulated at will. Its continuation means an aristocracy holding the nation's wealth and a people enslaved by poverty and fated to despair. Genuine patriotism can no longer deny its ravages nor ignore its presence. Justice, liberty, humanity, and the common heritages of citizenship demand its overthrow.

*That the accumulated powers of greed be destroyed is imperative.* Too long already has it crushed and cursed mankind. The unjust conditions which prevail everywhere and which constantly grow more powerful and oppressive suggest but one remedy—a divide-up of all property among all the people; and when this is accomplished, the enactment of such laws as will insure justice and fair opportunities to all in the future.

The division of property among the people and the cancellation of debt at proper intervals, as laws, for the government of human affairs, have an authoritative origin. The world seems to have forgotten that these commands were given to mankind by God and stand in the Bible beside the Ten Commandments. Viewed from the proper standpoint, they are an essential part of a complete governmental system. A division of property cannot be regarded as other than God's law, and divine laws are perfect in that they harmonize with each other. They are all connected by vital relations. Whoever offends in one point is guilty of all. To divide up is a part of a complete circle. To ignore it is to break the circle and confuse everything.

Furthermore, to divide up, like all divine commands, is a *natural law*. It is a vital part of the natural law of the political world. Its need is as visibly read in the oppressions endured by an outraged society as is the inspired language upon the sacred page. The literal status of the original command is a question upon which men may differ. To decide either way matters little.

*But human nature remains the same.* A special force is still needed to maintain the normal equipoise. If a divide-up would harmonize business and financial relations and create natural conditions, it cannot be safely set aside and ignored. Freed from prejudice, it awakens the deepest convictions of patriotism. Thus viewed, it becomes as much a duty as though God should again make known His will, as He did from Sinai, and write a command to divide up all property and cancel all debts across the dome of the heavens.

As a political issue, a divide-up and start-even need not be a wrangle of hatreds between the rich and the poor. Such a measure should be instituted, not that the rich are loved less, but that justice and country are loved and honored more. The hatred and calumny heaped upon the rich are unwarranted, and show a covetous rather than a patriotic spirit. There are very few who would not be rich were it within their power. The rich are no worse than the poor. The rich and the poor are perhaps equally selfish. Many are rich because they are honorable and upright—through habits of economy, industry, and perseverance. There can never be a serious conflict exclusively between the rich and the poor. Nor is it possible to condemn either and exalt the other. "Neither wealth nor poverty gives us any clew to character or furnishes us a criterion by which we may measure the soul and judge of the dimensions of the man himself." Legions of men are well-to-do, and even rich, because they deserve to be; and legions are poor because they are conscientious and unselfish. The lives of many men are one long self-sacrifice, like that of Professor Agassiz, who said: "I have no time to make money." On the other hand, many are rich and many are poor for reasons which are neither a credit nor an honor. Riches and poverty are often a

matter of birth, of circumstances, of sheer luck, or the lack of it. Indeed, wealth and poverty are so haphazard and inconsistent in their dealings with mankind that their regulation by a force more powerful than either is made imperative.

To adopt the measure, therefore, would be the enthronement of a principle and not an issue between classes of mankind. It should be adopted because it is an imperative requirement of a progressive and enlightened age, and not as a sentiment. It should be carried out, not that some might gain, but as a matter of straightforward business; not because it would bless a part, but that it is necessary for the good of all; not because it is right, but because nothing else will meet the present demands of humanity and common justice.



Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.—CHRIST.

And thou, my country, write it on my heart—  
Thy sons are they who nobly take thy part;  
Who dedicates his manhood at thy shrine,  
Wherever born, is born a son of thine.—VAN DYKE.

Our Government, by its organization, is necessarily identified with the interests of the people; and it relies exclusively on their attachment for its durability and support.—GEORGE BANCROFT.

Wealth, so far as it consists in comfortable shelter, and food, and raiment for all mankind, in competence for every bodily want and in abundance for every mental and spiritual need, is so valuable, so precious, that if any earthly object should be worthy of idolatry, this might be the idol. . . . But wealth as the means of an idle or voluptuous life; wealth as a fosterer of pride and the petrifier of the human heart; wealth as the iron rod with which to beat the poor into submission to its will—this is all the curses of Pandora concentrated into one.—HORACE MANN.

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.—  
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

All tyranny begins with denial by men to their brothers of the equal use of the gifts of a common Father. So to-day the monopolist, the destroyer of liberty, like Cain, his ancient prototype, conspires against his brothers, seeking to possess himself of the favors of God bestowed equally upon all.—Gov. JOHN D. RODGERS.

. . . Gather the young . . . and teach them that their country has appointed only one altar and one sacrifice for all her sons; and that ambition and avarice must be slain on that altar, for it is consecrated to *humanity*.—WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

## CHAPTER II.

## WHAT A DIVIDE-UP AND START-EVEN WOULD INVOLVE.

To DIVIDE up all the wealth of the United States among the people would not only be a radical measure, but far-reaching in its influence and results. At the same time, it is not difficult to comprehend, with considerable definiteness, what the undertaking would involve.

There is no reason why such a measure could not be instituted and carried out peacefully, systematically, honestly, and thoroughly. In these respects it would radically differ from what is witnessed when new conditions are accomplished as the results of war, with its attendant bloodshed and devastation of property. A complete and universal division could be made without shedding a drop of blood, blighting a single life, or crushing beyond repair a single home.

The difficulties which seem to interdict the measure are imaginary rather than real. It is possible at any time to ascertain with marked exactness the entire possessions of the United States, and to learn of what materials this wealth consists. We have repeatedly measured the extent of our domain, counted the number of acres and farms and homes, and estimated with expert care the wealth and worth of mountain, mine, and forest.

It is a part of our governmental routine at proper intervals to investigate the more interesting developments of the nation and record them. Once in each decade we place upon record the number of men, the number of women, and the number of children. We learn what they do to earn a livelihood, what they receive for their services, and what constitutes their individual possessions, so far as necessary to serve the purposes of public interests. We learn much regarding the social standing, the religious relations, and the industrial and business enterprise of

the people. We learn how many persons are born each year, how many get married, and how many die. We learn approximately how many are able-bodied and capable of earning a living, and how many are defective and unable to support themselves. We know how many are engaged in the various professions, trades, and other departments of enterprise. We learn the number of vocations and their relation to each other. We know about how much business the nation is doing, the kind and quantity of goods we consume ourselves, how many we send to foreign lands, and how many and what kind of goods we import in return. We know the natural advantages of our country, its resources and productions, its rivers and harvests, its enterprise and its varied possibilities. We know its settled principles of government, the foundations upon which it rests, and the constant and loyal devotion it demands of its citizens.

The great magnitude of our country need not materially add to the difficulties attending a division of property among the people. It can be truthfully claimed that the United States as a whole are more completely and accurately epitomized and estimated than is possible with any of its divisions or subdivisions. We are a unit rather than a collection of units. Only as an inseparable union do we hold supremacy or can our possessions be measured.

The nation as a whole is also more permanent than any of its parts. Not only men, but inventions, vocations, laws, professions, customs, and policies of government are born, serve a period of usefulness, die, and pass into history. But the nation as a whole, as a concrete unit, survives and maintains a rapid development.

According to the abstract of the census of 1890, "the total true valuation of all tangible property in the United States exclusive of Alaska, at the census period of 1890, amounted to \$65,037,091,197, of which amount \$39,544,544,333 represents the value of real estate and improvements thereon, and \$25,492,546,964 that of personal property, including railroads, mines, and quarries." These figures represent what would be a fair selling price at the time the census was taken.

The population of the United States on June 1, 1890,

as shown by the general enumeration for the States and organized Territories, was 62,622,250. This included every person and all ages.

If the total wealth was \$65,037,091,197 and the total population 62,622,250, the per capita wealth of the nation was, therefore, a little over \$1,038. To this should be added about \$22 in money for each individual, which would make \$1,060 for each man, woman, and child at the last census.

The increase of wealth of the United States from 1850 to 1890, a period of forty years, is as follows:

|                                        |                 |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Value of real and personal property in |                 |
| 1850 .....                             | \$7,135,780,228 |
| Value of real and personal property in |                 |
| 1860 .....                             | 16,159,616,068  |
| Value of real and personal property in |                 |
| 1870 .....                             | 30,068,518,507  |
| Value of real and personal property in |                 |
| 1880 .....                             | 43,642,000,000  |
| Value of real and personal property in |                 |
| 1890 .....                             | 65,037,091,197  |

The above figures show a remarkable increase of wealth. It is interesting to note that the increase in value of the United States was threefold greater between 1880 and 1890 than the entire value of the nation in 1850. In other words, the gain in wealth in America during the first 350 years was not one-third as great as it was during the years from 1880 to 1890. One year of modern progress adds more to the wealth of the nation than a century did in its earlier history.

The per capita wealth for the past forty years, according to official census reports, is as follows:

|                         |      |       |
|-------------------------|------|-------|
| Per capita valuation in | 1850 | \$308 |
| "                       | "    | "     |
| "                       | 1860 | 514   |
| "                       | "    | "     |
| "                       | 1870 | 780   |
| "                       | "    | "     |
| "                       | 1880 | 870   |
| "                       | "    | "     |
| "                       | 1890 | 1,038 |

If the same general increase that characterized the ten years between 1880 and 1890 continues, at the end of the present census decade (1900) the population will be about 77,000,000, the wealth will be over \$92,000,000,000, and the per capita wealth will be not far from \$1,200.

If a divide-up of property were to take place it would be accompanied by various incidental reforms and adjustments which would change, to some extent, the total valuation of our national possessions.

For instance: there has been for many years a growing demand that the Government assume ownership of mines, railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, and other national monopolies. There is also a similar demand that municipalities and other public bodies assume the ownership of various enterprises of a public nature, such as water-works, light-plants, and street-railway lines, which are now largely held by private interests. In the event of a divide-up a large amount of land now unimproved, especially in the Western States, would become public domain.

Again: there have grown up many schemes of enterprise of a questionable character which injure society and defraud the people and are an actual menace to the public good. These could during a general divide-up be condemned and forbidden in the future, without embarrassing those who now profit by them.

On the other hand, there is a large number of enterprises which represent great actual value, but escape being properly considered in census reports. These would greatly augment the total valuation of the wealth of the nation as usually estimated.

If the changes made balanced each other, and in the adjustment between public and private interests property to the value of \$15,000,000,000 (which must be considered a liberal allowance) were transferred from the realm of private property to public ownership, there would remain, based upon the prospects for 1900, wealth to the value of \$77,000,000,000, or \$1,000 in property for each man, woman, and child in the nation.

It is evident, therefore, that if a general and universal divide-up of property were made it would consist in the Government, through the exercise of its inherent and

sovereign powers, assuming, for the time being, absolute control of all property and wealth, and with the exception of natural monopolies, which would become national, State, county, and municipal possessions, making a fair, impartial, and judicious division of the same among all the people. And it is quite evident that the share of each individual would consist of property the value of which would not be far from \$1,000.

A divide-up would not be honest, American, or even possible unless it were made general, complete, and equitable. No matter what the race or color of a person be or what the previous condition, if he or she is by birth or adoption a legal subject or citizen, such an one, in all fairness and justice, is entitled to an equal share. Were favors shown, there are many reasons why they should be given to those who apparently least deserve them. In running a race it is the swiftest-footed that are handicapped. There are men who could start with nothing and eventually surpass in achievement others who had much to start with. An even division, "share and share alike" so far as possible, and without favor or distinction, except to conform to good judgment and discretion, would be the only practical, wise, and just method to pursue.

Of course, the discussion of the measure would give rise to many perplexing questions. All great measures do this. Some would oppose giving the same value to an infant as to an adult; others would object to giving the same amount to an ignorant and indifferent family with a flock of unpromising children as to those more worthy and highly cultured. Many would see in the wide range of property values, running from the hovel to the palace, apparent insurmountable difficulties in making an equal division of property with fairness to all. A thousand impossibilities would be seen by opposers. Some would think that a graded apportionment should apply to children. While it might not seem fair to include childhood in an equal distribution, yet by doing so twenty-one years would be given in which to solve those problems connected with the rights and needs of oncoming generations. While giving to the ignorant and indifferent an equal share in a divide-up would cause much to be sacrificed, yet

the loss would be many times compensated for in the aroused manhood and womanhood that would result. That the existence of palaces and hovels would embarrass an equal division of property, none can deny. For years wealth has been tearing down and building larger, while poverty has been shifting as best it could. The nation has become a jumble of financial monstrosities. But these extremes represent abuses in need of correction. Men die every day in houses their children cannot afford to keep up and occupy. When properly viewed, the very things that seem to prohibit a divide-up are conditions which a division of property, and it alone, will remedy and cure. One of the astonishing features of our large towns and cities now is the great number of dwelling houses, intended for families of the middle class, standing empty, while there are not enough hovels and flats and avenue palaces to meet the demand. If a leveling of wealth filled up these medium-sized but vacant houses and built more like them and emptied both extremes, it would be a vast improvement over what now exists.

It would not only be a duty to make a thorough and honest distribution of property, but to see that each allotment were legally secured to the owner. If property to the value of \$1,000 represented each person's share, this amount should be given to every man or woman of full age, to be accepted by them and subject to their absolute legal control. Every married couple would receive property to the value of \$2,000 and, in addition, the value of \$1,000 for each child in the family. Every orphan child would receive, through a legally authorized guardianship, the value of \$1,000.

Defective, helpless, incapable persons, through special provisions, should receive the benefit of their apportionment. What would otherwise go directly to these persons could be represented by substantial profit-producing investments, and the income therefrom to be used for their support in such institutions as are essential to the best welfare and comfort of those who, through physical or mental defects, are rendered unfortunate. The shares of all criminals in custody should be held in trust, and when each has served his sentence and is set at liberty he should

receive his portion. There is also a considerable number of persons who, although incapable of managing their own affairs to good advantage, are nevertheless harmless and useful members of society. The property of such persons could also be in the form of well-secured and paying investments, and the income of the same, through duly authorized guardianships used for their support. The aged and infirm and invalid classes comprise a large number in the aggregate, and the same kind of investments would be appropriate for them. All of these would absorb no little property, and such wealth as large office buildings and mammoth business blocks in towns and cities could be appropriated in this way.

When the process of dividing-up had been completed and the new order of things become effective, there is no reason why a rapid adjustment of affairs would not follow. It could scarcely be called a revolution. The people would become so absorbed in their new environments and in the future that they would forget the past. The blessings of sunshine and rain would continue. Spring, summer, autumn, and winter would follow each other the same as now. But until some one should be dishonest or recreant to his duty, there would not be a destitute man, woman, or child in the United States—not one. Nor would there be a rich person until riches had been earned—not one. Every legitimate American would be worth property to the value of \$1,000, and the possessions of every family would be wealth commensurate with its numbers.

Financially all would be upon an equitable basis. None would be so independent as to live without labor or effort of some kind. None would be dependent entirely upon toil for food and shelter. Those who are now rich would be shorn of the power that money can buy and would find it necessary to become useful, and those who are now enslaved to capital and humiliated by poverty would be given what is the natural and legitimate birthright of every man, woman, and child born upon America's beloved and free soil—a visible chance to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Moreover, the profit of the earth is for all.—SOLOMON.

Have love. Not love alone for one,  
But man, as man, thy brother call;  
And scatter, like the circling sun,  
Thy charities on all.—SCHILLER.

When the struggle assumes the form of a contest with power in all its subtlety or with undermining or corrupting wealth, as it some time may, rather than with turbulence, sedition, or upon aggression by the needy and desperate, it will be indispensable to employ still greater diligence; to cherish earnestness of purpose, resoluteness in conduct; to apply hard and constant blows to real abuses, rather than milk-and-water remedies, and encourage not only bold, free, and original thinking, but determined action.—LEVI WOODBURY.

Vast tracts of our domain, not simply the public domain or frontier, but in some of our nearer States, are passing into the hands of wealthy foreigners. . . . This evil requires early attention, and that Congress should, by law, restrain the acquisition of such tracts of land by aliens. Our policy should be small farms worked by men who own them.—BENJAMIN HARRISON.

And now, wealth, learning, statesmanship, law and religion, as well as labor, are unceasingly seeking for settlement that will be in accordance with the divine law, with the greatest good to all; and that will give prosperity to society, justice to the individual, and stability to the state.—H. W. CADMAN, (Prize Essay).

The universal blunder of this world is in thinking that there are certain persons put into the world to govern and certain others to obey. Everybody is in the world to govern and everybody to obey. There are no benefactors and no beneficiaries in distinct classes. Every man is at once both benefactor and beneficiary.—PHILLIPS BROOKS.

## CHAPTER III.

## HOW COULD IT BE DONE?

WOULD it be possible to divide up and start even?

Yes.

The chief reason, no doubt, why the measure has not been oftener discussed is because people imagine that it would be impossible to carry it out. But it would not be an extraordinarily difficult thing to do. There are other measures now being pressed by political parties quite as difficult to establish as a divide-up would be.

A nation, in some respects, has characteristics in common with the individual, and one of them is: it is easier to undergo a wholesale reform than to reform in a single spot. To correct a life is an easier matter than to abandon a habit. To adopt a sweeping, radical change is not so difficult as it is to uproot a single evil. Revolutions have made history, while the lap of time is filled with dead reforms.

There are many reasons why it would be easier to bring to pass a divide-up of property among all the people than it would be to materially change, as an isolated reform, our financial system, to prohibit the liquor traffic, or bring about the public ownership of railroads and other natural monopolies. These things, desirable as they may be, lack the essential motive power. Every defeated wrong in history shows that there was a great motive force that impelled volunteers to storm its forts and invade the assumed rights of its friends. Behind the proposition to divide up and start even are the forfeited rights of 50,000,000 people. It would mean the restoration to these people of \$50,000,000,000 in property that justly belongs to them. It would mean business prosperity in the future to the whole country. The question would possess both the force of motive and the momentum of magnitude.

It would be a political question. In its scope it would be local, state and national. It would of necessity operate through political channels supported by a platform which proclaimed and advocated the principles involved. It is the proper mission and legitimate function of a political movement to embody some definite principle or plan of action in its platform and to submit the same to the people for adoption or rejection at the ballot-box. It is the highest privilege of citizenship to express convictions and desires regarding political policies on election day, and a duty, no less exalted, is to give "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority," which Jefferson has placed as one of the fixed stars in the bright constellation of principles that illumine our national pathway. So expressed and so voted upon it would establish, beyond all controversy, the universally accepted but much-abused doctrine that this is "a government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

To carry out a divide-up and start-even would require the election and installation into office of a majority of the members of our national Congress pledged to the adoption of the measure. Congress alone would have the right to proceed. In its official aspects it would resemble a civil war. Although no war would attend its operation, from a governmental standpoint it would be a war measure. Except in the absence of the implements of warfare, the two measures are identical.

War, in its intent and issues, "is governmental discipline to protect the national life and to secure the guaranteed rights of the people." This is exactly the motive and intent of a divide-up and start-even.

Men will diligently labor to invent more destructive implements of warfare, and it should be no less a duty to invent more effective implements of peace. When corporal punishment is prohibited in school, discipline continues to rule; and when the bloodshed and wholesale destruction of war shall end, it is not to be expected that governmental authority to exact justice among the people shall cease. The fact that the Constitution invests Congress with the "right to declare war" gives it the right to declare some other measure that will, better than war,

answer the purpose of some desirable end, although powder and bullets, bayonets and swords are not employed to enforce its decrees. To deny Congress this right would make of war the *Ultima Thule* of government and forestall the advancement of civilization.

It would further resemble a war measure in the performance of the task. It would require the services of from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 men in the various departments connected with the work. This vast army of men would be under the direct jurisdiction of the Government. It would require that every state, every county, and every township, ward, or school district be organized.

Men of sterling character, good judgment, and unswerving integrity should be chosen to perform the task. Persons specially familiar with each branch of industry, class of property and commodities should inspect and adjust any variation from a fair and uniform estimate that might be found placed upon values.

It need not be a difficult matter to select the number of men necessary to perform the task. Were Congress to order an election to be held in every voting precinct in the United States, to elect at least 10 per cent. of the citizens in each, nearly 1,500,000 men would at once be legally authorized to proceed with the work.

These locally elected committees could, in turn, elect township, city, and county committees, and these in like manner could elect state and national boards. These various committees and boards could employ such helpers, either professional, expert, or clerical, as would be necessary to best perform the duties involved. In this manner the task could be systematically and intelligently inaugurated and thoroughly carried out. While the work would be monumental in proportions, it need not be difficult in execution.

One of the first and important things to be done would be to fix the exact day and hour at which the new conditions should become binding and in force. At least one year from the commencement of proceedings should be allowed in which to perform the details connected with the work.

In the meantime business, labor, and the various indus-

tries and enterprises might continue just the same as if no change were going to take place. Merchants should continue to buy and sell, manufacturers should keep the wheels of industry turning, the farmer plant and garner his crops, and the artist and artisan, the editor and the minister, the teacher and the servant should continue their various duties. Interference with the natural processes of the various activities and industries might be so avoided that the proceedings would escape all ordinary observation. In the building of this new temple of liberty the sound of the hammer need not be heard.

To insure every one absolute fairness, and in order to counteract any dishonesty attending the measure, the committees might remain in force for one year following the division and continue to hold full martial or military powers. In this way all dishonesty or unjust advantages, either accidental or willful, could be rectified.

A requirement of supreme importance would be to make an accurate, thorough, and uniform appraisement of the value of all the property, both personal and real, in the United States. Definite and uniform rules and regulations should apply to all sections of the country. Aside from local committees, specially qualified persons, in sufficient numbers to thoroughly cover the field, should travel from place to place to insure uniformity and fairness to all. Each branch of industry and each kind of merchandise should be thus inspected by men familiar with the line represented.

All persons would, of course, be required, under the most stringent regulations, to give a full and complete report of all belongings. All gold and silver coin would, of necessity, be demanded and held by the Government for the time being, and only paper money used until the day officially set for the adoption of the new administration. All misrepresentation and fraud should be subject to proper punishment.

An important matter would be to decide what individual possessions would be exempt in making the appraisement. Of course personal clothing would not be included, nor, with rare exceptions, household furniture. Among those things which would not as a rule be considered are tools

owned and used by carpenters and other mechanics in securing a livelihood, instruments and libraries of professional men, farming implements and such live-stock as are used exclusively for individual or family purposes, and outfits generally which pertain to individual or family employment. It would, however, be necessary to place a reasonable limit to all such possessions and require obedience to such rules as would best insure fairness to all. That the jewels and ornaments of many rich persons are in themselves a fortune, and that the furnishings of some households are of immense value, are facts not to be overlooked and which would require special adjustment.

As a part of the programme, it would be required that new dies be made for coin, and that all gold, silver, and other metallic money be recoined at the mints. None of our present coin would be used after the division took place, and any coin now in use discovered after such division, unless it came from a foreign land, would belong to the Government.

An entirely new supply of paper money would also be required, its use to begin simultaneously with the new order of things. The paper money now in use might be continued until the day upon which the new money should come into use, when the present paper money would become counterfeit, and any person trying to pass it would be guilty of a crime. This would entirely prevent fraud as far as paper money is concerned, and reduce dishonesty in the use of gold, silver, and small coins to a minimum. To prevent fraud in the use of postage stamps and postal cards, new designs could be printed, those now in use to be worthless after the change took place.

In order to facilitate the distribution of property among the people it could well be represented by printed certificates. They should be uniform and specific in character. Those representing personal property might well be placed at \$25 and those representing real estate at \$50 each. Upon the face of each certificate should be stated specifically the exact property it represented. When the division had been completed each person would be entitled to the property his certificates called for, possession to take effect upon the official day as named.

To illustrate the advantage of issuing certificates: suppose a family of four were assigned a business and a home, or a farm, the value of which had been placed at \$3,500. This family would be entitled to \$500 worth of certificates calling for their face value in some other property. But suppose the business and home or farm were valued at \$4,500. Then some one else would be given the surplus certificates and they would have a legal claim against the property specified upon their face. In this way the certificates would facilitate the equalization of allotments, and the holders of them would be expected to protect their own interests after the division had been pronounced effective. The parties holding a majority of certificates representing any particular property would be entitled to a warranty deed for the same when presented to the county clerk of the county in which it was located. And any one holding less than a majority of certificates would be entitled to an official first claim when presented to the county clerk in the same way. In the case of certificates representing large concerns, such as department stores or manufacturing plants, they could be construed as so much stock, according to the system now prevailing.

Another important duty would be to enumerate and classify the people. For this purpose only men of known integrity and good judgment should be chosen. Their duties would consist in numbering all the people within the nation carefully and accurately, reporting the age, sex, nativity, and occupation of each, and deciding whether, by birth or adoption, each one were entitled to a share in the nation's wealth. It would be required that professional aids decide concerning those incapable of managing their own affairs. A uniform and reliable system should be adopted providing each locality with responsible guardianship over those who for any reason are incapable of accepting and managing their allotments. And the same system would apply to all children who are orphans or who desire guardianship. And it should be the duty of these committees to exclude all persons who are not genuine legal Americans.

In the distribution of allotments, it is plainly apparent that the greatest wisdom and justice should be shown. The

highest integrity and the best common sense would be required to measure up to the high level of duty here imperative. Those who now own a home, or a business, or other property should, of course, be given an option upon such as they possess and occupy. Those who labor in factories or in other places where wealth is invested should be given an option on that to which they are devoting their skill, time, and energy. While special conditions, circumstances, and personal adaptation should, in a measure, influence the distribution of property, the final and supreme power to decide, in case of controversy, should be vested entirely in those charged with the division, and not left to the recipient.

Aside from the stupendous magnitude of the undertaking there is nothing extraordinary about a divide-up and start-even. The duties involved are not at all uncommon. It is going on every day through orphans' courts. Such duties are being fulfilled constantly in settling estates, in the exchange of property, in collecting census statistics, and in assessments made for taxes and for other purposes. It might be claimed that once during each generation the property of the country is subjected to such a change. The entire process is susceptible of being executed in a manner deserving the most implicit confidence.

It is to be observed that a divide-up simply compels a general average. It takes the superabundance from the few rich. It gives it to the many who now have little or nothing. A large number of families would not materially gain or lose. There is a large number of farmers, small merchants, mechanics, professional men, and those engaged in vocations where industry and economy are encouraged—who escape the slavery of wage servitude on the one hand and the crushing effect of overgrown competition on the other—who possess already a fair general average of wealth.

The disparity of wealth is much greater in the cities than in rural districts. The farmers of the country, as a class, would gain by the measure. It would result in the subdivision of many farms, especially of the "bonanza farms" of the West. But to do this should be a part of our organic law regardless of a divide-up of property, in order

to give new recruits an opportunity. There ought to be a limit to the amount of land that one person may own, and such a law will necessarily at some time force itself into adoption.

A uniform rule should apply to the size and value of farms. When a farm should require dividing into two or more allotments, or perhaps two farms into three allotments by taking a portion from each, the present owners should be given that part supplied with buildings, while young men and young women should be given the unimproved portion. In sparsely settled sections, where large tracts of land are held for speculation, it should revert to the government or to the state in which it is located and be held for future settlers.

The most revolutionary changes would take place in the ownership and control of large manufacturing concerns and business enterprises. What is now a manufacturing plant worth \$1,000,000 and employing 1,000 persons, but owned by a corporation consisting of a few stockholders, would become the property of a thousand men who do not now own a dollar's worth of stock, but who do all the work. The present stockholders would become fellow-members with the rest. If a large store carries a stock of \$100,000 and employs 100 clerks, these clerks would become the proprietors, and the present owners would be placed upon an equality with those now under them.

If the former owners of factories and stores were in reality suited to fill official positions and manage business acceptably, they would, in most instances, be chosen to continue in the capacity of managers. In most instances the residences of the present owners and officials of large concerns would doubtless be retained as a part of the plant, and under the new order of things they would become the "executive residence" and the residences of the chief officials, to be occupied by them during terms of office.

With the exception, therefore, that the management and profits of these large concerns would be transferred to their natural and legitimate owners—the workers—there would not be many revolutionary changes. It would be the duty of those employed in these large concerns, in anticipation of the new order of things, to organize and elect officers

and make such arrangements as might be required to continue business without any interruption.

There is a great number of private residences in large towns and cities that would, under the new order of things, be entirely too expensive for private ownership. No private individual could afford to live in them. These could, with their chief contents, be reserved for public purposes, and they would serve a real need under the new conditions, as will be shown in a future chapter. All theaters, opera-houses, public halls, club-houses, large hotels, and other buildings used for social, educational, and amusement purposes would cease to be private property. As a revolution would take place in the habits of men, the Government would assume ownership of all distilleries and breweries and of all materials connected with the license system. While land in rural districts, if unappropriated, would revert to the government or the state in which it were located, that in incorporated cities and towns, except such as would be needed for public purposes, such as post-offices, etc., should become the property of the municipality.

While it should be the endeavor to make a complete division and give to every one at the time a proper allotment of tangible property, yet there are numerous instances where this would be difficult to carry out in a wise and practicable manner. For instance, there are many children and young people who belong to this class. To meet such cases a government certificate could be issued the same as bonds are now, to bear interest and to be payable at legal age. Public debts of all kinds now amount to over \$2,000,000,000. This is equal to the share of over 2,000,000 persons in a divide-up, and the Government could issue this amount, or even more, of such certificates with perfect safety. A large share of them would be redeemed in land, the later appropriation of which would admit of better judgment than possible at the time the division occurred.

While the vast army of men elected for the purpose were appraising property, enumerating the people, and arranging for the distribution of wealth, the Government should be coining and printing a new supply of money.

In the meantime a perfect financial and banking system should be adopted. Every bank, under a new and perfected banking law, should be provided with new money sufficient to supply those within its official territory. At least \$50 for each adult and \$25 for each minor should be deposited in bank and officially assigned and apportioned to each person individually, in addition to the \$1,000 worth of property. This money should be subject to the check of the persons to whom it was assigned or to the check of their legal representatives. By this means every man would have in bank, subject to his check upon the arrival of the official day, the sum of \$50, or \$100 for himself and wife and \$25 extra for each of his children.

The large increase of public ownership of natural monopolies would call for a corresponding supply of money as operating capital. To properly supply this need would require not less than \$1,000,000,000 in cash in addition to that given to individuals. It would be thrust into circulation through the medium of public enterprises. By this method more than twice as much money would at once be in actual circulation as there is at present.

As an essential contingency of a divide-up, it would be incumbent upon the general Government to assume the full payment of all debts that might be due to foreign nations or to citizens of foreign nations. This is the only debt that would survive in the United States. Our entire foreign indebtedness, regardless of its nature, should be paid in full. This does not apply, however, to speculative investments by foreigners in this country. Our nation is abundantly able to pay its honest debts, and every cent due in foreign countries should be paid in lawful money, full value.

Another contingency that would arise is to properly acknowledge the just claims of those advanced in years. All men over sixty-five and all women over fifty-five years of age should be granted a pension. We would not, except in a few instances, be under more obligations to the old than we are now, but we would begin to be honest, and the aged deserve a comfortable support. Besides, were aid extended to the old, the most of them would quit the field

of enterprise, and this would greatly improve the advantages of the young. It will be a happy condition to our business and financial interests if it ever becomes a settled policy for men to retire after a reasonable period of service. By encouraging the young as new recruits, the aged would justly merit an assurance of life's comforts during their declining years, and the younger generations could well afford to grant them.

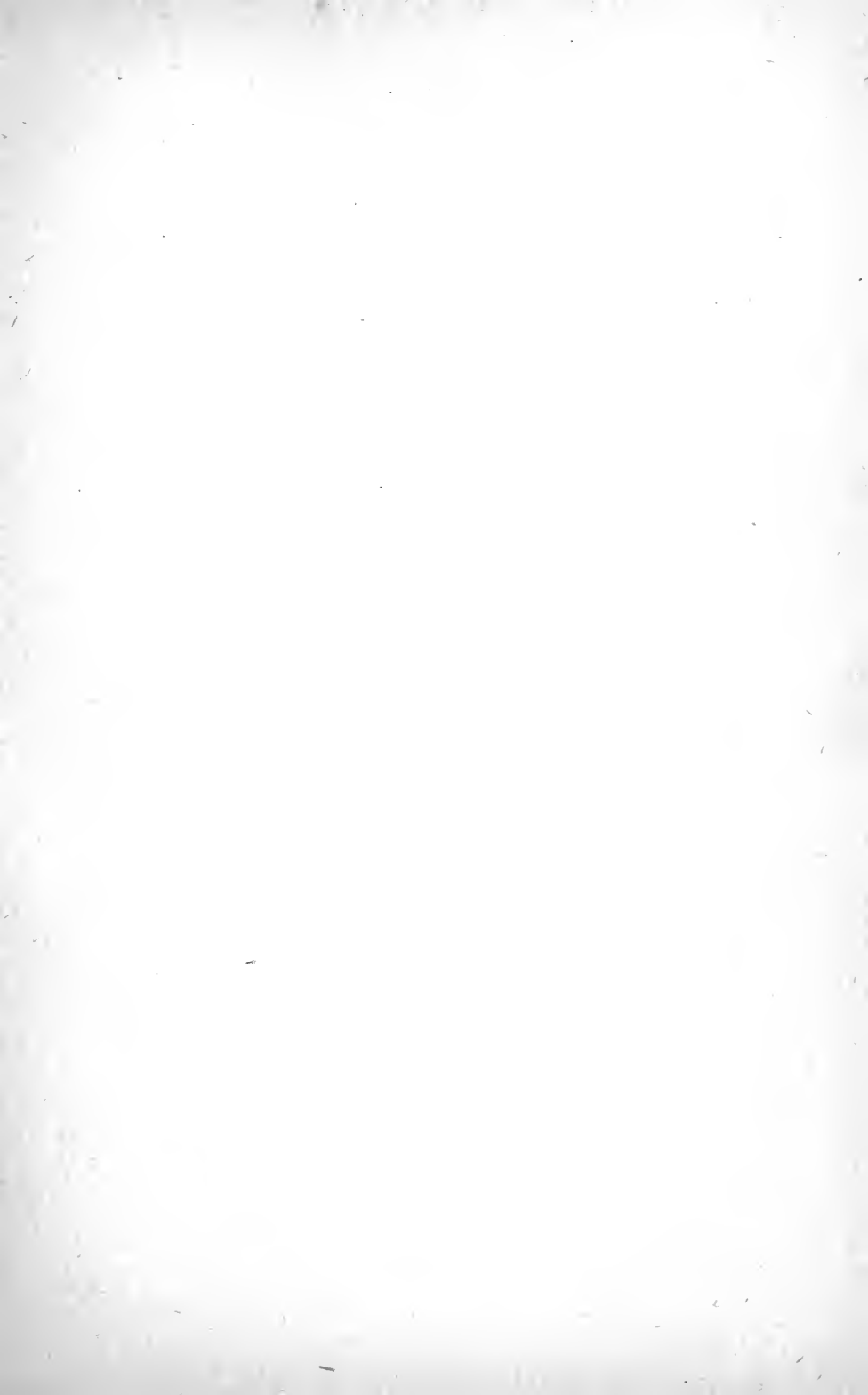
It would also be just and proper that pensions be granted, within certain limitations, to correspond with the customs, habits, and past usefulness of those receiving them. Various considerations determine the amount of war pensions, and a parallel principle could, with equal justice, apply to pensions granted on account of political reforms in which no war occurred. After all, pensions are not so burdensome as many imagine. They are a tremendous factor in promoting the circulation of money. To a certain extent they are a direct benefit to business and general prosperity.

Before the day appointed upon which the new dispensation is to begin the entire task should be finished. The new conditions should be welcomed as the will of a patriotic people and as the supreme law of a sovereign nation.

The arrival of the official day should find all prepared for it. Each person should know exactly what is to be his. No matter whether it be what is now a millionaire or a pauper, a belle or a washerwoman, a college professor or an ignorant occupant of an obscure hut, each person should hold in his or her possession that which calls for what is to be his or her legal property. The money of each man, woman, and child should be in the bank of his or her choice, and each should hold a deposit-book showing the amount. The discrepancies in values in business caused by depleting or increasing stock should be adjusted. Every person should know what his plans and purposes are for the future. The post-offices should have a supply of newly prepared postage stamps and postal cards. All the details of a divide-up being completed, it should be a time of peace on earth and good-will toward men.

The day appointed is reached and passes slowly. The

hour arrives! The clocks herald the moment! A new era dawns! Every man, woman, and child in the United States is worth a respectable home. Every mortgage is canceled. Every debt is forgiven. Every account-book is swept clean. There is no starving childhood, no neglected among the aged. Every man has money in the bank. Prosperity dawns. A new freedom is born. The long-prayed-for kingdom begins. Rejoicing echoes through the hills and over the plains, and the land is filled with gladness. The day of jubilee is at hand.



Provide things honest in the sight of all men.—PAUL.

But right is right, since God is God;  
And right the day must win;  
To doubt would be disloyalty,  
To falter would be sin!—FABER.

What do gentlemen mean by coming forward and declaring against this Government? Why do they say that we ought to limit its power and destroy its capacity for blessing the people? Has philosophy suggested, has experience taught, that such a government ought not to be intrusted with everything necessary for the good of society? . . . when, in short, you have rendered your system as perfect as human forms can be—you must place confidence and you must give power.—ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Happy is that country, and only that country, where the laws are not only just and equal, but supreme and irresistible, where selfish interests and disorderly passions are curbed by an arm to which they must submit.—JOSEPH HOPKINSON.

Let us seek liberty and peace under the law, and, following the pathway of our fathers, preserve the great legacy they have committed to our keeping.—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

It would seem to be a self-evident proposition that the price of land, all other things being equal, is governed by the population on the land, or near it. That is what makes property in cities so valuable. It naturally follows from this that where population increases rapidly prices should similarly advance. And within certain limitations I believe this will be found the case.—EX-PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON.

There is much to be said in favor of the right of the creator of just wealth to leave it to whom he pleases, and much more for its limitation. It is impossible to limit the natural gifts or disabilities with which we are born, but it might be possible, and without injustice, to restrict each one's individual share of the world's wealth.—H. W. CADMAN (\$1,000 Prize Essay in *Christian Unity*).

Justice is itself the great standing policy of civil society, and any departure from it, under any circumstances, lies under the suspicion of being no policy at all.—BURKE.

## CHAPTER IV.

## WOULD IT BE HONEST TO DIVIDE UP?

THE very instant the question of dividing the wealth of the nation among all the people enters the mind, it is confronted with the inquiry, Would it be honest? Were it to become an issue in politics it would be heroically assailed as infamy and repudiation. Perhaps nothing has been more vehemently opposed than a divide-up would be. Men would cry "fraud!" "repudiation!" "rogues!" "thieves!" and pollute the air with opprobrium. But men have always acted thus. The rich would proclaim "the divine rights of ownership" and shout "thou shalt not steal" until they were hoarse. But bold indictments have always been hurled at progressive reform. And at no time will men so strain at a gnat and swallow a camel as when dealing out precepts upon honesty for their fellows while practicing it to suit themselves.

Genuine honesty is not only a precious, but a pure jewel. It admits of no adulteration. It cannot be imitated. It is the basic principle of civilization. It is the aim and the end of law. "Thou shalt not steal" is an epitome of all the statute books of Christendom.

It is dishonest for one man to wilfully rob another of the value of one cent. He who commits such an act is a thief. No man or number of men, under the guise of any pretext whatever, can claim the right to take the property of another and appropriate it as their own. Lazarus, as we understand the principles of honesty, had no right to steal the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table; and no man, although he may be working long hours at starvation wages for the most crushing and soulless corporation, can claim the right to swerve from the most rigid adherence to the highest standards of integrity. No matter how beneficent, how desirable, or how loudly vaunted a general

divide-up might be, such a measure must be condemned unless it be honest. That which costs honor is unworthy the price, no matter what blessings it may bestow.

Moreover, honesty is an omnipotent principle. It cannot be contracted to a narrow compass. It has a mission of its own; and while all must obey its precepts, it, in return, must reign universal. It is no respecter of persons. It is the arbiter between right and wrong. "Thou shalt not steal" is only a part of its legal code. Let us learn that honesty strikes deep and reaches afar. Genuine honesty does not sanction that which is unless it harmonizes with that which ought to be. Real honesty never brands patriotic effort as repudiation and infamy while just *restitution*, dead and forgotten, slumbers in its grave.

Our Government was founded and is based upon these broader and deeper principles of honesty. It was the intent of our fathers to insure to all the people equality before the law and absolute liberty in the legitimate pursuits of life. In admitting that this is a government "of the people, for the people, and by the people," we must also admit that the people rule, and that their interests in the form of "a more perfect union" are the legitimate and highest aim of governmental action. While the people as individuals make the laws, the people as a collective unit are the law itself. The Constitution, sacred as it is, is their instrument. "We, the people," are the sovereign, the supreme power, the ruling force. Thus constituted and empowered, it is the sacred duty and should be the honest purpose of the people to go forth from one degree of progress to another until every home, so far as patriotic devotion and just laws can favor, has been made happy and every life has been assured its proper reward.

We have not yet been sufficiently schooled to be able to judge what is exactly honest and what is not regarding the ownership of property in a free country like ours. Our Government is not a century and a quarter old. Time enough has not yet elapsed to learn what laws are best in relation to property. The nation is too young, even now, to establish immutable statutes regarding individual possessions. These questions are a work that requires not only profound wisdom, but time and lessons of experience.

If laws have existed which failed to protect the weak from the strong and the good from the bad, and, in consequence, unnatural diversities of wealth have resulted that are manifestly unjust and vicious to the common good, the only honest alternative is to remove these conditions by a peaceful and equitable adjustment and supplant the inefficient laws by those that will prevent, as far as possible, vicious and unfair conditions from occurring in the future. The most sincere statesmen sometimes pass unwise laws, and what is a wholesome law at one time may soon become a veritable loophole for the adroit manipulator. It is not only dishonesty, but political imbecility, to perpetuate laws that have proved impracticable or that have ceased to be useful and have become a shield for the avaricious, simply because they have come down to us from the past.

And genuine honesty would go a step further: it would, as far as possible, correct conditions resulting from the existence of a bad law. The same facts would apply to the lack of any laws at all where they should have been provided, and also to customs and practices in business and enterprise which are inherently wrong, but which have been sanctioned by popular endurance.

When an unjust condition exists it is an evidence that a wrong has been committed, and honesty demands that every wrong, if possible, be corrected. To claim that government has no right to correct accumulated injustice, including the unjust possession of wealth, is to deny it the privilege of correcting its own mistakes and shortcomings. It at once makes of the people not masters of the present, but slaves of the past.

Common honesty and national interests demand not only radical and organic changes now, but will in the future, no doubt, demand many changes in our fundamental laws and in our financial and industrial systems before all the "unalienable rights" of posterity are so expressed and established as to defy the natural and capricious events of time.

For several decades the desire to grow rich has been almost an outlaw in our country. Perhaps the world has never witnessed such an unbridled stampede for the goal

of gain. Our growth of wealth since the War of the Rebellion has been remarkable and without a parallel. The war opened up a new financial era in our country. During the past census decade the wealth of the United States increased over \$20,000,000,000. We are growing rich at the rate of over \$2,000,000,000 annually, or over \$5,000,000 for every day in the year. But in the distribution of this wealth Fortune has been as wild and reckless as though she were to harness the winds to scatter her treasures.

Admitting the most liberal construction to be placed upon present conditions, the fact remains that they are accursedly wrong. The great middle class, which has made American history conspicuously progressive and noble, is not only being shadowed, but is threatened with extinction. Says the editor of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*: "Will it go on until the independent middle class, on which the stability of the country depends, is all wiped out, and the population consists only of a few employers and a great army of employed, with its inevitable and distressful following of unemployed?"

The false theory that "whatever is is right" seems to condone these unnatural conditions and the unjust freaks of fortune which are sure to follow. The fact that "possession is nine points of the law," although it lacks ten points of being honest, is sufficient to subdue legions of men into submission to tyranny even of the most despotic kind. Human nature is so constructed that man never bears and forbears so patiently as when he is himself the victim. Slavery seldom visibly deploras its misery or shows the essential courage to win its own freedom.

It is only by long and intimate association that we have become tolerant of conditions as they to-day exist. Suppose our forefathers, instead of forming a republic, had established a *communism* in the United States, and instead of individual possession the wealth of the nation had been held in common until the present time. And suppose the people, weary of the monotony of communistic routine, had decided to divide all property among the people and establish individual ownership; that laws had been passed to this effect and men appointed to carry them out by

dividing the land, and houses, and goods, and money among the people with the intention of establishing a republic. And suppose, after numbering the people and estimating the wealth, it were found that there was \$1,000 worth of property for each man, woman, and child. Now suppose these men chosen to divide the property, instead of dealing out pro rata were to give \$100,000,000 worth to each of several men, \$50,000,000 each to a larger number, from \$1,000,000 to \$40,000,000 each to several thousand, and then amuse themselves by distributing indefinite amounts until about one-half of the people had been supplied with something, and were to entirely ignore one-half of the families of the nation, leaving millions of people in poverty—giving fine mansions to men who never built them, railroads to men who never worked a day, coal mines to men who never saw one, oil fields to men who never soiled their hands, immense factories to men who never handled a tool, millions in mortgages to men who never drove a nail or followed a plow, while the mechanics, the miners, and the laborers who have built the houses, constructed the railroads, developed the mines, sped the wheels of industry, and turned the hills and valleys into harvest fields were fated with ignoble poverty and burdened with debt—doomed to a slavery from which to aspire were to be branded an anarchist and in which to falter or fail were to be stigmatized as a scapegoat. Who would accept such a division of property as honest? A righteous indignation would resent the insult. Yet this condition exists to-day, and it has been brought about by systems of law, by customs of business, by tolerated habits of society, and almost as systematically as though it had occurred under the direct control of governmental authority. Its insidious growth and its subtile nature when established make it endurable.

That the lives of some men are more comprehending and useful than the lives of other men, and that they deserve and actually require more of this world's goods, is a self-evident fact. There are degrees of civilization and of culture widely apart. There is a vast difference between the meager needs of a vast multitude low down in the scale of life and the innumerable needs of those who have

climbed higher in civilization. There are many factors which enter into labor, and business, and social life which forbid a general level. But these differences should be met by compensation rather than by property. A divide-up would not level the compensation of men, as we shall see further on. Those who tower above their fellows in intellect, in genius, in skill, and in abilities would then have a vantage-ground they do not now possess. Fame, and honor, and competency would be more easily reached, and the present depressing struggle for bread would cease. Genuine promotion is that which comes through the appreciation of our fellow-men, and the power to promote and elevate on the part of the people would be immensely multiplied. The general level would be raised to its highest, and to climb from this level would have a meaning and bestow an honor and a reward it now sadly lacks.

But there is a more concrete reason why a divide-up and a start-even would be honest—because the people themselves, and not the property, are the real basis of wealth and value. It is the current impression, quite universal, that land, and houses, and goods, and machinery, and stock, and material things measure the wealth of the nation. This is an erroneous idea. Before land is occupied or used, either actually or prospectively, it has no value. As soon, however, as it begins to serve the purpose of civilized man it becomes worth something. As the people multiply, and improve, and replenish a section of country, in a corresponding manner values increase. When for any reason people decrease or lose interest and houses and farms are vacated, values decline; and when a country ceases to be the abode of mankind or to serve its purposes it no longer has a value. It is the people, therefore, that give value to property, and it is their intelligence and social qualities—their civilization—which regulate the general level of that value.

If the population of the United States were to decrease one-half, values of property would doubtless decrease accordingly. But if one-half the buildings were to be destroyed by fire and no lives lost, the money value of the nation would not correspondingly suffer.

If a farmer settles upon a tract of land in an unoc-

cupied section of the country, what was before a worthless piece of ground becomes a farm with an intrinsic value at once. If, at the same time, a tract of land adjoining the farm is laid out for a prospective town, it at once becomes of far greater value than the farm. If a thousand families settle upon the town site and build homes, and stores, and schools, and churches, and public improvements, and factories, and develop society, the land upon which the town is built will become worth not far from a thousand times as much as the farm. This law holds good whether a few persons or many own the property. If this farmer and those who compose the town are of a low order of civilization, intrinsic values will be correspondingly low; if they are highly cultured and thrifty, property values will be correspondingly greater. And should it be discovered that the location was so unhealthy that all the people must either leave or perish, and on this account all the inhabitants should migrate, no matter how grand and costly the improvements might have been, both the town and the farm would be worthless.

The principle that values center in the people rather than in material things is well illustrated in cases of fire and flood. If no lives are lost, intrinsic values do not permanently suffer. When over 17,000 buildings were burned at one time in Chicago, and when the heart of Boston was reduced to ashes, the conflagrations were considered great financial calamities. Yet both of these cities are far more magnificent and valuable to-day than they would have been if the fires had not occurred.

There are those who believe that if the American people, with their present modern ideas, inventive genius, and industry, could be transported back to the primal forests, as in pilgrim days, and allowed to begin over again, it would be a real blessing, as the new cities, and towns, and homes, and improvements that would rapidly develop would surpass in beauty and value those we now have.

Were it to be discovered that the planet Mars is a veritable unoccupied Garden of Eden, with mountains of pure gold, rivers flowing in beds of silver, and a climate that prohibited disease, it would be valueless. But should aërial navigation be so perfected that mankind could be

transported to its enchanting shores, its wealth would at once become a tangible reality.

Intrinsic value must always have its basis in the people. The laws which grow out of this principle are inexorable. Property as a representative of value is only the visible expression of human life and character. Without these there can be no valuation whatever to property. It is the people and the civilization which they possess that give worth to wealth, and not property that gives wealth to the people, as we so easily imagine.

The effect that civilization has upon the value of property is shown by the increase of per capita values. The per capita wealth of our nation has more than doubled in fifty years. This is due to the fact that men and their needs have increased. The vision has enlarged and the means to gratify these multiplied needs have improved. In other words, civilizing forces have doubled. What were luxuries once and enjoyed by the few are now common necessities. The desires, the ambitions, the "universal horizon" of all, both rich and poor, have been immensely extended.

Therefore, while the wealth of the nation is legally very largely in the hands of the few, the real factor of wealth, that which causes it to be wealth, is universally diffused. He who owns more houses, or farms, or goods than he occupies or can use for his own purpose has in his possession that which depends for its value upon the life and character of his neighbors. And every family of intelligence and character, even if it has no legal claim to a single dollar, represents a value not far from \$1,000 for each of its members; and there is a value to property somewhere, in some form, which is dependent upon the existence of this particular family. This value may radiate in a thousand directions, but it is nevertheless real. These are concrete facts that admit of no denial. The capitalist is, of necessity, not so much a financier as he is the manipulator of not only the brain and brawn, but of the life and character of his fellow-men.

To divide up would not be instituting an unnatural or unjust condition, but simply restoring value to the people. It would be giving to each, as nearly as possible, what al-

ready belongs to him. It would be in obedience to a law concerning property and life as exact and immutable as are the laws which guide the stars through the heavens.

Many would doubtless question the *legality* of a divide-up of property. The measure would conflict with so much that is regarded as fixed law, both written and unwritten, that it would be looked upon by many as outlawry in its worst form, while some would regard it as anarchy pure and simple. It is to be remembered, however, that the stability of our nation does not rest upon the permanency of laws and customs, but upon the power behind those laws and customs—upon the people who make them.

What decides the legality of a measure? The laws relating to the measure in force at the particular time. And few things are more subject to change than laws. One of the chief functions of a government is to make and unmake laws. In the two houses of Congress the various states employ over 400 men to unmake old and useless laws and enact new ones to take their places. In the various states thousands of men are empowered with a similar duty. To these might be added the law-makers of counties, cities, and towns, swelling the number to a great army. Perhaps nothing needs changing so often as law. In the settlement of our country vast areas of land have become territories, and in turn these territories have become states; rural districts have become towns and towns have grown into cities; cow-paths have become roads, roads have become streets, and these streets have become great thoroughfares freighted with commerce and penetrated by railroads and trolley lines. The new conditions demand new laws. Statutes regarding the stage-coach will not apply to the express train running sixty miles an hour. As improved methods demand new laws to regulate them, so it is that new conditions in the deeper and more organic structure of our social and industrial life call for a change in laws that are more fixed and fundamental in their nature.

What was legal yesterday may be illegal to-day, and what is illegal to-day may be lawful to-morrow. Statutes, while they exist, are paramount, but they hold no dominion over political policies. In courts of justice law, as en-

grafted upon the statute-books, is supreme dictator, to be obeyed to the letter, but in the operation of a political policy it is simply as clay in the hands of the potter, to be changed and fashioned at will.

A divide-up carried out through orderly processes would not be *anarchy*, but exactly the opposite. The word anarchy has been so brandished against political efforts during recent years that a true conception of the term no longer exists. Denouncing all innovations as "anarchy" has become the pet growl of the financial lion whenever his lair is disturbed. Anarchy consists in the utter disregard of government. To oppose any law or condition and strive toward something better is not anarchy.

The progress of the world depends to no small degree upon governmental and social progress. Those who have opposed obsolete and antiquated laws and customs in the past might well be remembered as among the world's greatest heroes. Those who have brought justice and progress through the adoption of new laws and new customs may well be considered as the world's greatest benefactors. Law, in its normal exercise, is subject to development and growth. The real anarchist is not he who struggles to promote the natural evolution of law, but the man who champions a bad law because he profits by it and he who antagonizes the advent of new laws because, as with the Ephesian silversmiths, they threaten his financial interests.

There are some who might think a divide-up would be *unconstitutional* and therefore dishonest.

The Constitution of the United States says: "Nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." During slavery human bodies were private property, protected as such to the owner by the Constitution and by the Supreme Court. It was claimed that the slaves were worth \$1,000,000,000 immediately before the war. But they were all set at liberty without compensation to the owners, and the clause in the Constitution regarding slavery has for a generation been a dead letter.

The object of the Constitution is "*to establish justice.*" If in the course of human events it becomes necessary, in order "to establish justice," to divide up and start even and cancel all debts, would it then be dishonest to do it?

The object of the Constitution is "*to secure domestic tranquillity.*" If a division of property among all the people is required "*to insure domestic tranquillity,*" and if the measure would bring plenty and contentment to legions of American firesides, would it not be honest to adopt it?

The object of the Constitution is "*to provide for the common defense.*" If the wisest statesmen, from Moses to the present time, acknowledged that the ownership of property is the best guarantee of the "*common defense*" and if a divide-up will save our nation from impending destruction, toward which thousands believe it is hastening, and insure peace, safety, and the establishment of a more patriotic and devoted spirit, is it not only honesty, but wise statesmanship, to bring it to pass?

The object of the Constitution is "*to promote the general welfare.*" If "*the general welfare*" of the people has been overwhelmed by selfish ambition and a divide-up will bring back to the people the legitimate relations of citizenship, would it not be honest to secure the benefit of it?

The object of the Constitution is "*to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.*" If it be true that liberty is becoming a misnomer and that slavery of a most hopeless sort is taking its place, and that a divide-up and start-even is the quickest, the surest, and the best remedy to employ, do we not owe it to ourselves, our homes, our children, and our posterity to demand that it be applied?

Are we perpetuating the object and provisions of the Constitution, either in spirit or letter, when we neglect to adopt such measures as will best insure peace, justice, and success to all classes of citizens?

The Declaration of Independence is a herald in favor of governmental progress. It proclaims sentiments in full sympathy with the principles of a divide-up and start-even. It says: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the

governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security."

This is, perhaps, the boldest statement in favor of political reform ever written. And the principles involved are opportune to-day. It is a matter of little difference whether the injuries and usurpations come from a British king or from concentrated wealth, or whether it be thirteen struggling colonies, with 3,000,000 pilgrims, pleading for liberty, or from forty-five states and nearly four-score millions of freemen pleading for justice.

Regarding the power of the people over the Constitution, Hon. James G. Blaine said: "The American people have rights which are anterior to and wholly independent of the Constitution, and I affirm, moreover, that while that precious instrument will continue to be, God grant for these many generations, the rule of our civil administration, yet that over it and under it and outside of it and above it there is engraven on the hearts of this people that God-given right, that great precept of nature, 'Save thyself!'"

The words of Lincoln also are fitting here. In one of his great speeches, referring to those who drafted our Declaration of Independence, he said: "They grasped not only the whole race of men then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the furthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and children's children and the countless myriads who should in-

habit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future some men, some faction, some interest should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth, and justice, and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man should thereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the principles on which the temple of liberty was being built."

Moreover, *honesty is not simply a negative, but a positive virtue.* It demands service rather than prohibits action. It is consecrated to a mission. Unwearied and undismayed, it is ever enlisted in a righteous warfare. It is a part of its mission to expose and to bring to naught all mockeries and travesties that are wont to wear its robes. Genuine honesty would correct every wrong, level every mountain of ill-gotten wealth, smite every vicious law, and establish justice and equity everywhere.

The claims of honesty are not met by simply establishing the justice of a divide-up of property and the cancellation of debts. The question that unfettered honesty asks is:

*"Would it be honest not to divide up and start even?"*

A fact in need of developing is that the wrongs involved in existing extremes of wealth and poverty cannot all be charged against the rich. These wrongs are the fault of both classes. There is a righteous medium from which the poor as well as the rich have wandered.

We all condemn the greedy boy who ate not only his own orange, but captured the candy of his little brother. But if the young brother willingly submitted and sought some obscure corner to devour a dry crust, he was not altogether free from fault. The baby spirit in one child will awaken the bully in another. The fear manifested by sheep will arouse the savage in a dog. There is a pliant demeanor which invites oppression.

So it is that unwarranted willingness to submit and serve on the part of the masses will create a corresponding disposition to oppress and to profit among the more aggressive and ambitious. The plutocrat is charged with oppressing the poor and turning men into tramps. It is equally true that the indifference and apathy of the poor make the plutocrat possible. Inequalities in wealth are as much due to the careless forfeiture of inherent rights by the many as they are to inordinate ambition among the few. He who sells his birthright is as guilty as the one that buys it.

We all abhor and condemn that despotism, which, enamored of ambition and lust, crushes the multitude into obscurity and despair. Yet only less in degree is the guilt of the multitude in allowing its inherited and natural rights, its gifts of talent and energy, its hopes and desires, its life, its all to be wasted as a sacrifice in such unholy worship. While the one enkindles and fans the fires of oppression and tyranny the other offers itself as fuel to the flames. From the beginning the sin of the one has been to make the earth a life-consuming perdition; the sin of the other has been a willingness to make this perdition possible.

Mankind needs to cultivate self-respect. To properly appreciate one's self is the basic principle of the Golden Rule. "Thy neighbor as thyself" places self as a unit of measure—the divine standard—of love and law. To forget or neglect self is to lose or lower the standard by which we are to regard others. He who loses self-respect is apt to forfeit the respect of his fellows. A well-poised self-respect is a paramount need of the times. He who has no regard for others is not without guilt, but he who respects not himself insults his Creator. "Self-preservation is the first law of nature" and self-respect is the first law of God.

Were every one to become possessed of the God-intended self-respect and love his neighbor accordingly, a divide-up would not only appear honest and proper, but it would at once stand forth as the overshadowing issue throughout all Christendom.

Were the ministering evangels of divine truth to go out among the people and fearlessly flood every fireside with

its holy light, the adoption and execution of an equitable distribution of property would soon ensue. "Go sell all that thou hast and give to the poor" was a divine charge. For eighteen centuries it has been taught that men should be *willing* to obey the command. The time has come for the willingness to ripen into fruit and become direct and specific action.

To divide up and start even furnishes the only honest ground for compromise between the rich and poor, the employers and the employed, the educated and the ignorant, the strong and the weak, the prosperous and the unfortunate, the old and the young, "the classes and the masses." For the one side to grant less ignores the brotherhood of man; for the other side to demand less denies the fatherhood of the Creator. It moreover provides the only humane way in which to utilize, to the best advantage, the fertile valleys and productive hills, the inexhaustible mines and plenteous harvests, the busy industries and tireless commerce, the boundless resources, the skill of hand and genius of brain, and the unlimited possibilities of our incomparable and beloved country. To admit that a divide-up and start-even would be a blessing to the people, and at the same time claim that it would not be honest to adopt it, is equal to declaring that the Golden Rule is a wise precept, but that it would not be fair to put it into practice.

But the honesty of a divide-up and start-even, if exigencies demand its adoption, is not open to denial. The honesty of the measure was established over thirty centuries ago. It was then ordained of God and sanctioned by divine approval.

It to-day occupies a conspicuous place in Holy Writ. No doctrine, no command, no teaching in the entire Bible is more directly from God, more specific, or more fully detailed than this. Explicit directions were given as to how a division of property was to be made, who were to do it, and how often it was to be done. As a law it has never been abrogated. As a principle its honesty and fairness cannot be honorably or safely assailed.

That times have changed in thirty centuries is not here denied. That a new dispensation has intervened is entire-

ly conceded. But honesty and truth are eternal and remain the same. When Love was enthroned it was not intended that Law should die. "Love is the fulfilling of the law." The Golden Rule is simply the "Law and the Prophets" in a new garb. Through all the evolutions of time human nature and human greed still survive. There is no proof that either time, or changes, or the added cycles of events have rendered a divide-up of property among the people a useless and impracticable measure in the affairs of men. The world may grow too good to need the adoption of the measure; may it never grow too bad to profit by it. To fail to even consider it in the government of a country inhabited by a free and enlightened people is to ignore the teachings of divine truth. Not even to think of it in considering the best welfare of a great republic where extremes of wealth and poverty are so pronounced as to threaten the very foundations of the government is a clear case of forgetting God.

Then let us conclude that a divide-up and start-even would be honest with a Christian and patriotic spirit. For who can claim by rightful inheritance the natural resources of the nation more than those who make these resources valuable—the people? Who can claim the products and profits of the soil more than those who plow, and plant, and cultivate, and reap? Who can claim the wealth and increase of toil more than those who harden their hands in mine and mill? To whom should money come more easily, or who should be more independent or more certain of abiding success than the toiling millions who, in high and humble effort, make property valuable by their lives and character, and make that value profitable and precious by patriotic devotion around the American fireside?

In the temple of justice, before the tribunal of honesty, let it be proclaimed that America belongs to her chosen subjects, to her sons and daughters and adopted citizens. That her wealth belongs to those who have served her well and made her rich and great; to the fathers and mothers who have builded her homes and protected her children; to those in humble life who have patiently earned what is hers and have made her what she is; to those whose gifts and genius have made her a marvel of

greatness and a chief glory among the nations of the earth; to those who have lived and labored to establish and make permanent liberty, virtue, and peace in the land.

These are the heirs and joint heirs to our national inheritance. They have richly earned it and honestly declared it to be theirs.

"And ye shall divide the land by lot for an inheritance among your families."

What might be done? This might be done,  
And more than this, my suffering brother—  
More than the tongue  
Ever said or sung,

If men were wise and loved each other.—MACKAY.

It was from Judea that there arose the most persistent protests against inequality and the most ardent aspirations after justice that have ever raised humanity out of the actual into the ideal. We feel the effects still. Thence has come the leaven of revolution which still moves the world. Job saw evil triumphant and yet believed in justice.

Israel's prophets, while thundering against inequality, announced the good time coming.—ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE.

The sacred right of property may become a menace to humanity as great as the menace of the divine right of kings to political liberty.—GEORGE D. HERRON.

All systems of society which favor the accumulation of capital in a few hands; which oust the masses from the soil which their forefathers possessed of old; which reduce them to the state of serfs and day laborers, living on wages and alms; which crush down with debt and in any wise degrade and enslave them and deny them a permanent stake in the Commonwealth, are contrary to the kingdom of God.—CHARLES KINGSLEY.

The strength of a nation, humanly speaking, consists not in its population, or wealth, or knowledge, or in any other such heartless and merely scientific elements, but in the number of proprietors. Such, too, according to the most learned and wisest of historians, was the opinion of antiquity. All ancient legislators, and above all Moses, rested the result of their ordinances for virtue, civil order, and good manners on securing landed property, or at least the hereditary possession of land, to the greatest possible number of citizens.—CHARLES J. HARE.

## CHAPTER V.

## IT HAS BEEN DONE.

IN its chief characteristics, a general divide-up of the wealth of the United States would not be a new and untried experience in the world.

When the children of Israel, led by Joshua and numbering over 2,000,000 people, crossed the Jordan into Canaan, God had already commanded them, through the great law-giver, Moses, to divide their land among all the families. Men of character, representing every tribe, were chosen to make the divisions, and in due time every family of every tribe was given its share in the allotment. "As the Lord commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did; and they divided the land."

Not only was the land divided between them at the start, each family receiving about twenty acres, but a redivision was ordered to be made every fiftieth year. "In the year of jubilee the field shall return unto him of whom it was bought, even to him to whom the possession of land did belong." During the year of jubilee all lands which had been alienated, with certain exceptions, were returned to the families of those to whom they had been allotted in the original distribution, and all bondmen of Hebrew blood were liberated.

In addition to the divide-up of land, which took place every fiftieth year, all debts were remitted and released every seven years. "At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release." "And this is the manner of the release: every creditor that lendeth ought unto his neighbor shall release it; he shall not exact it of his neighbor or his brother, because it is called the Lord's release."

As in all divine commands, the poor were especially provided for in the laws which God gave to rule His

avored people. "If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of thy gates in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart nor shut thy hand from thy poor brother." "But thou shalt open thy hand wide unto him, and thou shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need, in that which he wanteth." "Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor broth and thou givest him naught; and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee." "Thou shalt surely give him, and thy heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him; because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thy hand unto." "For the poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thy hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy in the land." During these times no one, excepting under special circumstances, could give a permanent title-deed to property, as the Lord had commanded; "The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine."

The claim is made by some writers that the release of debts every seven years, as commanded by the Lord to Israel (Deut. xv.), did not mean the entire obliteration of debts, but simply that no interest should be demanded and that the debts should not be collected during the seventh year. There are no conclusive reasons for this theory. On the contrary, the object of the release and the entire system of equality of which it was to form a part imply that it was a complete and universal obliteration of debts. Even those who claim that the release every seven years was only partial admit that the programme of the jubilee at the fiftieth year included the obliteration of all debts as well as a redivision of the land. The jubilee was a veritable divide-up and start-even, including the cancellation of all debts (Lev. xxv.). In its application the family and family traditions were, as far as possible, maintained; but the word "inheritance" did not necessarily imply legal transmission from parents to children as we understand it to-day. It included the

donation of property to those who had nothing, yet whose citizenship entitled them to an allotment.

It is to be remembered that while these commands were given directly from God to His chosen race, they were political rather than religious in their nature and application. Says Dr. Smith in his "Bible Dictionary:" "The jubilee is more immediately connected with the body politic, and it was only as a member of the state that each person concerned could participate in its provisions. It was not distinguished by any prescribed religious observances peculiar to itself, like the rites of the Sabbath day and of the sabbatical month. As far as legislation could go, its provisions tended to restore that equality in outward circumstances that was instituted in the first settlement of the land by Joshua. *The design of the law was chiefly to maintain, and at proper intervals restore, a just and proper equilibrium in the various families and tribes. It was to prevent the growth of an oligarchy of landowners and the total impoverishment of a portion of the people.*"

Like all commands given to the people by Jehovah, those regarding the readjustment of land every fifty years and the cancellation of debts every seven years were only partially obeyed. Yet upon their strict observance and the observance of similar laws not only in spirit, but in letter, depended divine protection and favor. These laws were in force and obeyed with increasing faithfulness, Jewish historians tell us, until the destruction of Solomon's Temple, a period of over seven hundred years.

The first sin that called forth God's disfavor and Israel's defeat in the land of Canaan was disobeying this very law. When cunning and crafty Achan concealed in his tent the silver coin and wedge of gold that should have been placed in the public treasury, the Lord declared that Achan and all he had should be burned with fire; and it was not until he and his family, together with his cattle, were not only stoned to death, but reduced to ashes, that the favor of the Lord returned.

It is highly significant that this nation and its people, its land and its laws, were of God's own choosing, and that of all the nations of the earth it occupied a signally

conspicuous and sacred place in human history. Among its mighty men were Moses and Joshua, David and Solomon, Isaiah and Daniel, and many others, great in their chosen sphere; and in the veins of its people flowed the blood of the promised Messiah. The records of its conquests in war and its achievements in peace, together with the lives of its patriarchs, its prophets, its kings, and its people as a race, have been given by inspiration of God to us and to all time, and are "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness." Whether these laws are in binding force in the world at present may be an open question. Their literal application in the present age is not here defended or denied. This much is true: the code of moral and civil law promulgated to this ancient people has been the foundation of all the laws of civilized states ever since. The moral code is considered in force and unalterable "because it springs from the *natural* law engraved in the human heart." There are good grounds for believing that the civil code continues in force because it, in like manner, springs from the *natural* law engraved in human society. They were not laws of rites and ceremonies which have been abrogated. They were at that time essential. Their authoritative source cannot be questioned. The greatest jurists of all ages have maintained that no human statute can stand that is not in harmony with the revealed laws of God. This implies that human laws should aim to imitate the divine law. God's laws are perfect because they are natural, and they are natural because they are complete. The laws of our nation can never be perfect until they are also both natural and complete. If this completeness depends upon the adoption of a divide-up of property and the cancellation of debts, the divine command, on account of its natural fitness, if for no other reason, is still in force. God's laws were not made to be repealed. They end only in fulfillment. Omnipotent wisdom has never yet opened a pathway or plan of action for mankind that ended, except at the beginning of something better.

With the advent of the Christian era a radical system of dividing-up was again inaugurated. The early Chris-

tians not only divided with each other, but they had all things in common. "All that believed were together," and their temporal interests were a unit. They "sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men as every man had need." "Neither was there any among them that lacked; for as many as were possessed of land or houses sold them and brought the price of them that were sold." As had been done in the land of Canaan, men were appointed to take care of the possessions and distribute the same as each deserved or had need.

While it is not supposed that the selling of property and giving the price into the common treasury was required by any expressed law, yet as a practice among the early Christians it seems to have been quite universal. When Zaccheus said, "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor," the sacrifice met with divine approval; but to the rich young ruler Jesus said: "Yet lackest thou one thing; sell all that thou hast and distribute unto the poor." Whenever the word "distribute" occurs in the New Testament, it is from a Greek word synonymous with "all things in common." The extreme importance attached to the principle of giving property was strikingly illustrated in the case of Ananias and his wife, both of whom fell dead before the altar when accused by Peter of keeping back a part of their money. "It is remarkable," says Dr. Pentecost, "that the first sin that God signally punished upon the children of Israel after entering Canaan was that of Achan, who coveted the wedge of gold and the goodly Babylonish garment; while the first sin He punished after the descent of the Holy Spirit was that of Ananias and Sapphira, who kept back part of the price of their possessions while pretending to have given it all to the Lord."

It is also significant that among over 2,000,000 people who participated in the division of property in Canaan, only one family proved dishonest; and of the thousands who were converted under the preaching of Peter and the other apostles, only one family conspired to deceive. As records of honesty perhaps there is no other parallel. They are both striking evidences that when men are sub-

jected to fair and equitable conditions they will in return prove honest and sincere.

The division of wealth among the people and the cancellation of debts were a part of the history of ancient Greece, and it was these measures that made her greatness and glory possible.

When Lycurgus, the wise Spartan lawgiver, became ruler of Greece, he determined that "the constitution he should establish should be the most excellent in all the world." Among other reforms he made a new division of land, for here he found great inequalities existing, as there were many who had no lands and the wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few. Being defeated in the division of movable property, he stopped the currency of gold and silver as coin and permitted iron money only, so that "to remove one or two hundred dollars in money would require a yoke of oxen."

Greece, however, fell into the hands of hard masters, and under the tyranny of Draco the rich again oppressed the poor and weak. Draco's laws, "written in blood, not in ink," reduced the Commonwealth to a complete anarchy, without law, or order, or system in the administration of justice.

At this crisis Solon, the eminent Athenian and one of the wise men of Greece, was made not simply archon, but sole dictator and legislator.

Solon at once liberated the serfs from slavery, canceled all debts, established an equitable system of taxation, granted universal suffrage, required parents to impart a means of livelihood to their children, stimulated industry, and punished idleness.

Under the code of Solon, which freed the land of the poor from all debts, Greece flourished as a model republic. She became renowned in the arts of peace and war. Athens, her capital, had no poorhouses and no need of them. Although Solon's political constitution was finally repealed, his social code was allowed to stand. At the end of the two centuries, in the age of Pericles, Grecian civilization had become the highest and most cultured the world had ever seen. Grecian architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, science, philosophy, literature, oratory,

and intellectual culture reached a development that has no parallel. Her record of immortal men surpasses that of any other nation of ancient times. Her people became teachers, leaders, and colonizers everywhere. The city of Miletus alone became the mother of 300 towns. Grecian centers were established, and the customs and language of the people were those of Greece. So universally true was this that when the Gospel was preached, no matter whether addressed to Roman, Grecian, or Asiatic Christians, the Greek language could be used and everywhere understood.

It might be reasonably claimed that the principles which underlie a division of property are basic in the organic construction of our Government at the present time.

If the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule are the basis of all the laws of Christendom, surely those which pertain to a distribution of property and the cancellation of debts must hold a vital relation to human affairs. The Ten Commandments, given from Mount Sinai, are held as sacredly binding now, and why should not laws contemporary with the Decalogue serve a purpose in the present age? While none of these ancient laws, although divinely given, may be literally binding to-day, the principles, and to no small degree the conditions, which made them opportune then, still prevail. If these contain an essence that will remedy panics, oppressions, inequalities, and discontent—leaven that will renovate our political, industrial, and social life—they are exactly what every true patriot is looking for.

It is worthy of note that while all great uplifts in history have not been secured through a division of property among the people, they have resulted from forces of the same general nature. Nearly all the worthy struggles of mankind have been to secure justice, liberty, and equality. How valiantly men have fought for equality before the law, for equality in government, in religion and opportunity! The oratory, the poetry, the music, the valor, the heroism, and the soul-sympathy of all the ages have been like so many invincible champions of "thy neighbor as thyself."

If the laws of Moses have lost some of their primal directness man's responsibility toward his fellows has not been lessened. The thunderings of Sinai are only a prelude to the plain teachings on the mountain side of Hattin. The laws of the entire world dwindle beside the heart service and life devotion set up at Calvary. Says the eminent scholar, William Howitt: "I will defy any one to proceed far in the New Testament without coming upon practices and commands of our Saviour that, if he comprehend their true and practical import, will compel him into a politician. . . . Will any man tell me how we are to love our neighbors as ourselves if we see them oppressed, made poor, made miserable, made ignorant and criminal by the measures of bad government, and this not in individual cases, but by thousands and tens of thousands, if we move neither hand nor foot to help them? . . . The religion that is not prepared to attack human evils at their root and to prevent them as much as possible by destroying their causes has long ago been pronounced to 'be a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.' . . . In a word, *Christianity is not merely a religion of principles, but of consequences*; and he who does not dare to look these principles in the face and, without fear of man or devil, of high or low, of unpopularity or personal sacrifice, to carry these divine principles boldly out to their full, direct, and legitimate consequences—that man may *talk* of Christianity, but has yet to learn what it is."

It has been well said that men do not make laws; they only discover them. From Eden to the present the same principles have been at the foundation of all human achievements. Whatever originates life, whatever constructs, whatever plants and garners, germinates and grows, lives and thrives, must work in harmony with the divine order. Jesus in His teachings refers to the Mosaic laws scores of times, and in the Sermon on the Mount quotes from the very chapter which commands a divide-up of property. It was He who said: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill."



And the common people heard Him gladly.—MARK.

While scourged by famine from a smiling land,  
The mournful peasant leads his humble band,  
And, while he sings, without one hand to save,  
The country blooms—a garden and a grave.—GOLDSMITH.

By nature we nearly resemble one another; conditions separate us very far.—CONFUCIUS.

We are living in an age in which the cause that espouses and struggles to attain real justice and true freedom deserves the earnest thought and best efforts of the men of our times.—SAMUEL GOMPERS.

An equal distribution of property is the foundation of the republic.—NOAH WEBSTER.

Many nations are guilty of the crime of permitting oppressive laws and bad government to remain among them, by which the poor are crushed and the lives of the innocent laid at the mercy of wicked and arbitrary men. This is a national sin of the deepest dye, as it involves most others.—BARBAULD.

Self-distrust is the cause of most of our failures. In the assurance of strength there is strength; and they are the weakest, however strong, who have no faith in themselves or their powers.—BOVEE.

If anything has been made certain by the economic revolution of the last twenty-five years, it is that society cannot much longer get on upon the libertarian, competitive, go-as-you-please system to which so many sensible persons seem addicted. The population of the great nations are becoming too condensed for that.—E. B. ANDREWS.

## CHAPTER VI.

## ARE WE PREPARED FOR A DIVIDE-UP?

ARE the people of the United States prepared for a divide-up and start-even?

Yes.

The success or failure of a measure which changes the relations of men to their surroundings depends, to no small degree, upon the people being prepared for it. While a division of property would partake of the character of a revolution, it would be a remarkably natural thing to do. It would be in full accord with the rapidly increasing democratic sentiments and practices of the times. It would be in the direction in which are traveling our social, industrial, and commercial affairs. It would bring into harmony a legion of organized forces which have the same general aim in view, but which, in their isolated forms, are now antagonistic to each other.

Those who have watched with unbiased care the general trend of business, political, social, and religious affairs in the United States during recent years have witnessed much that bespeaks radical reforms in all of these systems. Advanced business methods, never before dreamed of, are quickly developed; and they crowd conservative methods to the wall. Bold political measures during recent years obtain universal discussion, and even the most pronounced social and economic doctrines are being studied as never before. It is demanded that religion show a deeper love and clearer faith if it is to lead mankind and illumine the world.

As an outgrowth of natural and legitimate advancement, mankind has to a remarkable degree developed mutual and fraternal relations. These relations in their organized forms represent no small share of our total resources and expenditures. And as human relations be-

come more complex, interests become more closely associated, and the growth of mutual effort and coöperation are inevitable. These public fraternities are great levelers. When their influence dominates in the nation great diversities among individuals will become intolerable.

The *common-school* system of the United States is entirely mutual in its general features. Our school system is the highest compliment possible to financial and social fraternity, because there is no higher trust than the training and education of children. There are over 20,000,000 children of school age in our country, and over two-thirds of them are enrolled as pupils in our public schools. These millions of children, five days in each week, for several months in each year, live in an environment which promotes the mutual spirit. They are taught the same general curriculum in the same language. All of them are taught to honor the flag, and all are expected to learn that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Our common-school system incurs an outlay of over \$200,000,000, and over 400,000 persons are employed as teachers.

Our *postal system* is also entirely mutual in its general management. There are over 71,000 postmasters in the United States, and with their subordinates and clerks they compose a vast army of workers. About \$100,000,000 are annually expended in this department of our Government. And it can be said in defense of governmental control and ownership of great enterprises that no enterprise in our nation is attended with such extensive detail and none is executed with more ease and satisfaction to those being served than the Post-Office Department.

The growth and success of *building and loan associations* show the natural demand for practical mutual interests in financial operations. Although these are modern institutions, nearly 6,000 associations are in existence. They are located in almost every city and town, and have a membership of nearly 2,000,000. Their combined assets amount to over \$450,000,000. Their profits have amounted to over \$80,000,000, and 400,000 homes have been built through

their influence. Of building and loan associations Commissioner Wright says: "They are semi-banking institutions conducted by ordinary men not trained as bankers, but yet have met with remarkably few losses."

The business of *life insurance*, which is still more organically mutual in design and purpose, has reached gigantic proportions in the United States. According to recent authentic statistics there were in 1898 no less than 11,218,330 insurance policies in force in regular companies. These policies amounted to the enormous sum of \$6,825,037,770. This is equal to more than one-fifteenth of the entire wealth of the nation. The total income of these companies for the year was \$325,452,134 and the expenditures \$222,518,788. The wealth which they represent in the form of assets is enormous. The total assets of the regular premium companies is over \$1,400,000,000. Over 75,000 men are engaged in the life insurance business, and some of the officials receive salaries equaling that of the chief executive of the nation.

There are also a large number of *assessment insurance and fraternal* societies which enjoy an immense patronage. In 1897 these organizations had a membership of 4,039,062, representing an insurance of \$7,799,428,000. During the year 978,234 new members were admitted and \$95,932,964 was collected in assessments and \$75,030,497 paid out to policy holders.

The total amount of insurance of all kinds in force in 1898 reached the enormous sum of \$14,125,578,072. This is more than one-sixth of our national wealth. The premiums for the year amounted to \$339,280,913 and the losses paid amounted to \$165,718,804.

*Sick benefit, accident, and benevolent societies*, operated upon a mutual basis, exist and flourish almost everywhere. Their combined membership is over 5,000,000. Men are easily found in any community whose income from societies to which they belong is greater when they are sick than what they can possibly earn when well, and who are worth far more in cash when they are dead than during their lifetime. It is to be inferred that all of this vast amount of insurance is adjusted once during what might be considered as each succeeding generation. In the multitude of

details and in the general scope of the work it requires it would scarcely be surpassed in a universal adjustment of the entire wealth of the nation among all the people.

In addition to moneyed concerns, *secret societies*, *fraternal orders*, *trades and labor unions*, and the endless number of organized interests that are born and flourish attest the growth of the social and coöperative spirit among the American people. Almost every trade, business, and profession has its organization, through which its members secure mutual benefits of some kind.

Organized *religious forces* show the universal approval of coöperative effort. Although divorced from the state and dependent upon voluntary affiliations, the Church has over 23,000,000 members, and it secures the friendly support of almost every one. While it is divided by creeds and subdivided by special interests, yet as a whole it shows a power for organization on the part of the people preëminently remarkable, and a loyalty to mutual coöperation that challenges every other form of effort.

*Business methods* are also following the same spirit. Stock companies and corporations are rapidly supplanting individual effort in business, by which means promiscuous wealth is collected from many sources and operated as a single unit. In this way a railroad, an express company, a steamboat line, or gas, water, or manufacturing plant may represent one, a score, or a hundred stockholders. Mammoth department stores and gigantic business concerns in many instances are aggregations of diversified interests combined for mutual profit. Even the "trusts," "monopolies," "syndicates," and "combines," against which so much has been said, are simply mutual agreements between concerns already great and powerful. These combinations, overwhelming in their magnitude, by being owned by a few instead of the many are a morbid and unjust perversion of a natural and wholesome desire among men.

The great lesson to be learned from these coöperative and mutual growths in our country is that they represent a living, active, growing force that must be recognized. They have come to stay. They illustrate the rapidly developing and inevitable course of human events. They are

a natural outgrowth of our republican form of government and of the democratic spirit of our times.

The growth of the coöperative and mutual spirit among the people shows development of civilization. Its inevitable demands are that all great interests become correlated and subordinated to the common good. The success of the common-school system or the postal system shows what other similar interests should be and must eventually become. The evidence that the people are prepared for a recast of our financial and social conditions is overwhelming.

Everybody knows that recent progress has been amazing, yet few seem to realize the direction in which progress is traveling. All genuine progress is toward the ideal. Men and affairs have simply become more natural. The real need is that natural relations be restored or harmonized. It cannot be expected that a new and improved civilization will grow up without demanding increased possessions and improved environments that all can enjoy.

The existence of widespread discontent and a sincere desire for genuine reform is also a natural sequence of actual progress. There is a patriotic demand that these and other overgrown concerns cease to grow millionaires and monopolies, and that they begin to elevate and profit the masses upon whom they feed and flourish. We are in spirit outgrowing the barbarism under which one class of men builds railroads, or telegraph lines, or ships, or factories, or business blocks, and another class owns them; under which one class of men digs from the earth the nation's coal supply or mineral supply and simply exists, while a few manipulators revel in riches; under which honest labor collects oil from the earth and transports it over the country, through sunshine and rain, for a humble pittance, while a few oil magnates outrival Croesus in wealth many times over.

Never were men better prepared to become property owners than in our country to-day. The belief that the poor are incapable of taking care of property is entirely unfounded. While a few are improvident, of an overwhelming majority, if placed under normal conditions, exactly the opposite would be true. The poor are better

equipped by experience, by discipline, and by force of habit to accept and wisely employ an average share of property than the rich are to give up their wealth and live natural, frugal lives. There is both truth and wisdom in the words of Hazlitt: "Prosperity is a great teacher; adversity is a greater. Possession pampers the mind; privation trains and strengthens it."

There is not a spot in all our country, be it ever so obscure and desolate, where a moderate possession of property should not prove a blessing. The American idea of life, its conception of freedom, and the home life in its influence upon citizenship are all, to a high degree, dependent upon the individual ownership of property. Poverty, while always to be deplored, in the presence of natural wealth, intelligence, and developing Christian culture becomes a crime.

Moreover, men have grown to love each other better than their lives would indicate, better than conditions allow them to amply express. There are legions of men, both rich and poor, who profoundly desire to leave the world better and happier than they found it. Within the breast of many a rich man lucre and love wage a conflict, while the conscience sincerely hopes that love will win. Men have conceived a broader and nobler view of the world; they have acquired a keener sympathy and a deeper concern for humanity; and these things have become crystallized as tenets of the popular faith. But amid the complexities of modern enterprise mammonism, schooled in all the arts of cunning, has conspired against the people. Their highest motives are being crushed and their best hopes are being turned aside.

The people are prepared, through expectation, for a great reform. The sun sets every day upon a larger number of men who believe that the time has come for a great concert of advance in public affairs. The conscience of the rich is stricken; the hearts of the poor are bleeding—the soul's need of both is common justice. The people are both ready and anxious to "adopt a policy more dignified and more effective than leaving themselves to be kicked along the path of reform by the recoil of their own vices." Only upon the question regarding what the changes shall be,

what shall bring them to a successful issue, and to what they will lead do men differ.

The masses, the millions of toilers have made for themselves a proud record. In the midst of injustice they have been honest; in the midst of oppression they have been loyal; in the midst of a mad rush for wealth and power they have been patient. They have been faithful in their humble sphere, and they deserve a higher trust. Their legitimate heritage is property interests, business responsibilities, and the material qualifications of full citizenship.

Our Government invites a new administration of public affairs. It anticipates a common people with equal rights, privileges, opportunities, and interests. The great body of Americans, it was intended, should keep closely to a wholesome common level. The power and the dazzle of concentrated wealth are not in harmony with our free institutions. These things breed revolt and not contentment in a free land.

By patriotic service men are becoming fitted for a new era. The best heart and brain are enlisted. Men who love their country and honor its flag are rapidly becoming enamored of humanity. The best manhood is seeking fellowship of a great cause. From the pulpit, the platform, and the sanctum come words of inspiration that echo over our land. Men who love and long to live the Golden Rule swell the ranks for a new warfare. It is safe to move on. The ship of state was never so sure to ride the storm as in present conflicts. The triumph of righteousness was never so inevitable as in the struggle for a new and better life now welling up from the hearts of the American people.

There is that scattereth and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty.—**SOLOMON.**

“Wealth in the gross is death, but life diffused;  
As poison heals, in just proportion used;  
In heap, like ambergris, a stink it lies,  
But, well dispersed, is incense to the skies.”

Prosperity, if it mean anything at all, means the distribution of wealth among the many and over a large territory. It certainly does not mean the concentration of wealth and power in a few hands and in a few large cities.—**CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.**

If I had never held command—if I had fallen—if all our generals had fallen, there were ten thousand behind us who would have done our work just as well.—**U. S. GRANT.**

The conservative asks, What is? That higher question, What ought to be? is above his capacity; and whenever he hears it put he speaks of blasphemy and anarchy. . . . Not a corruption has been overturned, not an iniquity has been cloven down in history, that has not fallen by the hands of progressive men and died amid the general howl and lamentations of conservatives.—**EDWARD D. BAKER.**

If our American civilization is to endure and progress, we must bring about a change in the distribution of wealth. If conditions are such as to be beneficial to the small number and injurious to society in general, those conditions should be changed.

This is to be the battle of the future—concentrated wealth on one hand, concentrated poverty on the other! If we desire to prevent actual war between class and class, it is imperative that a legal check at once be placed upon the growing power for evil of aggregated wealth.—**ROBERT N. REEVES.**

The great American republic seems to be entering upon a new era, in which it must solve a new problem—the reconciliation of democracy with modern conditions of production.—**ALEXANDER JOHNSON.**

## CHAPTER VII.

## WOULD THE COUNTRY BE BENEFITED?

A DIVIDE-UP and start-even would touch every phase of life. That a legion of changes would take place and a multitude of new forces be set in motion none can deny. Individual conditions would undergo a revolution. We should inhabit a new country. We should be placed in an unprecedented environment. Ambition, society, business, and politics would radiate from new standpoints. The transition would not be a dream, but a reality.

When the hour should arrive for the new order of things, and the bells, declaring financial liberty, filled the land with music, men, women, and children would set their faces toward the future. The past would be forgotten. It would be like the dawn of a new day. There would neither be a rich family nor a poor family in the whole nation. Every household and every man and woman would represent a substantial nucleus. Every one would possess some thing to encourage him, and it would be possible for every life to become wedded to its own. Heaven would kiss mother earth. Men would see and hear anew. They would love with a new joy. They would possess a new inspiration.

The records of every county clerk and of every sheriff would be wiped clean. No old judgments upon the musty pages of public dockets would longer haunt and threaten the unfortunate with their claims. The perdition of poverty and the hell of debt would be destroyed. Every book account and promissory note would be forgiven and the borrower and the lender could begin afresh. Every debt against school houses, churches, and colleges would be canceled. Bonds against towns, counties, and states would become void and of no effect. Government coupons would no longer be clipped by bondholders. Every debt of the

nation, excepting what is due in foreign lands, would be buried in oblivion. One-fourth of the wealth of the nation, now jeopardized by debt, would be freed. Billions in value, and what is now hugged as the guarantee of gilded collateral, could be safely used to kindle fires.

The Government would own the railroads, telegraphs and telephone lines, the express carriage business, gold, silver, iron, copper, oil, and gas mines, and other natural monopolies. It would also own all land not needed by the people. The various states would own that which pertains to the commonwealth, free from all incumbrances. Cities, towns, and counties would own municipal railways, waterworks, electric and gas plants, and all buildings of a public nature. Every old lawsuit would be settled, and every wrangle and wrong over money and property equitably adjusted.

Taxes would be reduced to a minimum. If the Government owned all natural monopolies and the states and cities those things natural to commonwealths and municipalities, the public revenues would be enormous. The income of railroads, mines, trolley lines, water and light plants, and other public possessions, even if the people were supplied at a low figure, would be very great. Tariffs and licenses would no longer be necessary for the sake of revenue. The Government could pay its own expenses and maintain a liberal degree of public improvements without collecting any taxes whatever from the people.

Moneyed interests now vested in mutual organizations would cease, and all insurance policies upon life and property, all interests in assessment societies and building and loan associations would lapse, require a fresh contract, and begin anew. All patents would expire. Fictitious values, watered stocks, and skeleton fortunes would disappear. The "money power" as now existing would be destroyed, and the "bulls" and "bears" forced into retirement. Wall Street would be robbed of its market commodities. The Stock Exchange would close, and it might well be preserved as a museum—a Delphic Oracle at whose shrine thousands of men sacrificed their all and about whose altars the wealth of the nation once worshiped with devotion and fear. Bradstreet and Dun would find it necessary to es-

tablish a new basis upon which to rate the world of business. What now stands for the greatest wealth would then also include the highest in character. The mistakes and the misdeeds of past struggles, the greed and gain that have fed and fattened upon flesh and blood, would be subdued and undone.

Freed from these enslaving conditions, the people would at once become normal consumers. The people would be able to buy what they need and pay for it. It would be an immediate specific for business depression and hard times. All ordinary comforts and necessary commodities would at once be within reach of every man's pocket-book. Within ten days every producer in the nation, whether of bread or clothing, furniture or playthings, building materials or literature, would be overwhelmed with orders. The glut of goods that now stock the stores of merchants, begging for buyers, would be cleaned out. There would be a commercial famine. The United States would be the greatest market the world has ever seen.

That a divide-up and start-even would cause a flood tide in business admits of no controversy. If \$50 for each adult, \$25 for each child, and working currency for public enterprises were distributed evenly all over the country, it would mean nearly \$4,000,000,000 in cash in circulation. The most of this money would go where it is sorely needed and where it would prove a boon beyond conception. Legions of people would be able to count dollars where they are now forced to count cents.

Means of livelihood would be within reach of every one and money would be active.

Confidence would be completely restored. Opportunity, so long a byword and an outcast, would knock at everybody's door.

Hundreds of thousands of homes would be built, furnished, and supported that are now impossible. Huts and hovels would be torn down and replaced by respectable dwellings. The rickety and scanty furniture that now disgraces too many households would be used for kindling wood, and those things which conserve a higher civilization would take its place.

The slum and overcrowded tenement districts to be

found in all large cities could be vacated and a bonfire made of the rubbish—buildings, furniture, and filth—and such localities turned into parks and playgrounds. The legions of men, women, and children who now live in these degrading and fated environments could build homes in suburban and rural localities, where the air is pure and room abundant. For a full century the farm and field have been sending sons and daughters into the city, keeping them alive by the constant addition of vital energy and pure blood. This travel cityward has gone on until the city has become a menace to health, success, and character—a peril alike to man, woman, and child. The only specific remedy lies in getting back to the fields.

There no longer exists any reason why people should overcrowd together as has been the custom. Modern methods of travel—the railroad, the trolley car, the bicycle—have wonderfully minified distances and invite a revolution in the customs of city life. Business centers of cities, with great sanitary and social profit, might be vacated as places of residence, and more remote sections become the dwelling-place of the people.

The ability to obtain has not kept pace with the growth of desire. Education, the advent of new forms of comfort, contact with those who have more and better advantages than we have, who secure what we are denied—all these increase desires; and the more enlightened we are, unless our wants are increasingly supplied, the more surely will discontent follow. But with home ownership and other possibilities would come contentment and permanent qualities of character. Around these newly inspired fire-sides sweeter and friendlier affinities would be established.

Prosperity that is real, supported by a tangible faith in the future, would at once take the place of panics, strikes, idleness, and financial disaster. When normal conditions of business and society were restored, men would become more natural in habit and more correct in life. Schooled in idleness and uncertainty, millions of people have reduced their expenditures to the most stringent minimum, while millions of others have grown prodigal and indifferent. Business has long suffered those abominations always accompanying eras of financial anxiety, wherein one class

refrain from getting what they need and the other class fail to pay for what they get. Purchases have for years been indicative of unnatural circumstances. Cheap food, cheap labor, cheap beer, and cheap tobacco overflow the markets. Modern advertising is saturated with cheap quotations, and the bargain store has had a heyday. People live from hand to mouth and fritter away the pittance that they earn. Modern life has become unstable, and legions of families spend their lives migrating from one tenement or town to another without any settled aim in life and without any momentum to their ambition. More than half of our population rent homes. Nearly 10,000,000 live under mortgaged roofs. The struggle to pay rent, and interest, and taxes, and to make both ends meet fills millions of lives with discontent and threatening vicissitudes.

What mankind needs is a foundation for fresh hope. Instead of being handicapped by mortgages and debts they are unable to pay and by enslaving environments they cannot escape, men need the clear blue sky of freedom under which to work and win. The chance to begin in a small way and grow needs to continually prevail. The first rounds in the ladder of fame and fortune need replacing so that beginners can gain foothold. Infinitely more important is it that the base of life's ladder be set among the humblest of men than that its top be crowned with a few garlands of wealth and renown.

Were a divide-up to take place, the laboring man would become a proprietor. If men were to become financially interested in their own work, what is now a "trade" or a succession of "jobs" would become the business of life.

It is becoming almost impossible to find a single article made by those who had any interest in it as owners. Personal responsibility that is responsible has become almost obsolete.

A more universal ownership is an imperative need of the times. If a divide-up of property never takes place, laws should be enacted whereby all workingmen be granted the privilege of acquiring ownership, to a reasonable extent, in that which requires their skill and handicraft. If it requires the skill and labor of a hundred men to construct a locomotive or a child's toy, or to make a threshing ma-

chine, or a paper of pins, a hundred men should be interested in these things during their manufacture as owners. It should be a law that every concern of a permanent nature and employing large numbers of workmen be required to allow each of these workmen, after a proper term of service, to purchase at a fair price capital stock to an amount equal to that which his individual labor represents.

Wage-earners are entitled to such a law. When an enterprise or a factory or a store has grown so extensive as to require the service of fifty or a hundred or a thousand men, it is big enough for fifty, or a hundred, or a thousand men to own; and each workman therein in good standing should have the legal right to become the owner of a fiftieth, a hundredth, or a thousandth part of the capital stock, to share in the profits, and to have a voice in the business management. The adoption of such a law would open up to workingmen an opportunity for development and growth of which they are now entirely deprived. It would make property and business subordinate to labor—the true relation. Property and wealth are only commodities, but labor is life.

For many years thoughtful statesmen and economists have believed and taught that some measure should be adopted whereby the individual ownership of land be limited to a certain number of acres, and that, so far as possible, ownership be confined to actual settlers or occupants. For the same reasons, and with no less force, there is need of a law to limit the ownership of factories, stores, and other enterprises. When they grow beyond a certain size, in magnitude or in employment of labor, individual rights to exclusive ownership should cease. If wisely adjusted, such a law need not destroy the wholesome and legitimate ambition and enterprise of any one, yet it would give freedom and opportunity to a legion of wage-earners now held in industrial bondage.

That ownership of property become more diffused and universal is the supreme need of the present age. Ownership carries with it a power that is tremendous. There is not only a close, but a vital relation existing between ownership and the highest forms of labor. There are, in consequence, vital reasons why every farmer should own the

land he occupies and cultivates; that every workingman have a direct financial interest in that which he makes; and that every salesman, to some extent, own the goods he sells. Inspired by the responsibility which ownership alone can bestow, land would be better appreciated and more productive, and the business of the manufacturer and merchant would be more systematic, reliable, and profitable.

When the supervision of land or other property passes from the owner to that of tenant—when the direct responsibilities and interests are severed—it almost invariably begins to depreciate in value and in productiveness. There are a legion of qualities in child-nature that only a parent can properly understand and minister to, and in like manner there are a legion of qualities inherent in property which none but the owner can appreciate and fully utilize. “He who wants a thing done right must do it himself” is not so much a hackneyed maxim as it is an inexorable law. We are more interested in what is ours than any one else can possibly be. It may be a duty to others, but it is our life. The tenant is, of necessity, almost always poor. And it is in most cases only a question of time when the landlord finds his property out of repair and impoverished and a source of expense rather than revenue. And the same laws and principles which apply to land and property govern commerce and manufacture. It cannot be other than a constant menace and jeopardy to property and business when it is required that they not only support the families of those who do all the work, but in addition must support an aristocracy, living in luxury, as a tribute to legal ownership. It is a form of robbery to demand that property and business furnish two livelihoods when they were intended to furnish the requisites of only one. It would seem that God has so ordained that when human liberty and human effort reach their highest expression, every man will become the free master of his own life and labor. As our nation grows older and farming becomes more scientific, and manufacture and trade, on account of competition and inventive genius, require the employment of more progressive methods, the adoption of closer relations than those held by tenants and wage-earners will become imperative.

The evil effects of the long-continued divorce of owner-

ship and labor are well illustrated by the condition of Ireland to-day. The land of Ireland is largely owned by aliens, but tilled by tenants. Not only are the tenants poverty-stricken, but many of the land owners are objects of charity. One of the great benevolent organizations of Great Britain has for its sole object the relief of English women who own land in Ireland, but who, on account of the demoralization of land profits, have been reduced to absolute poverty.\*

What a blessing it would be for all concerned if the ruling powers of Great Britain were to cease struggling for military dominion for a season and divide the land of Ireland into small farms and give it, unincumbered, to those who now occupy it! How the Emerald Isle would bloom and flourish anew and how Irish wit and wisdom would baptize and bless afresh the rest of mankind!

Yet these same conditions, accompanied by the inevitable results, are becoming widespread in our own land. Our houses are becoming owned by one class and occupied by another. Our farms are becoming the property of landlords and cultivated by tenants. Business enterprise and manufacture are becoming the investments of money kings and manned by a multitude of industrial slaves.

So potent an influence is the ownership of property that a wide difference inevitably exists between those who possess property and those who do not. Riches and poverty divide men into classes divergent and distinct. Man's relation to society, to law, to religion, and to every phase of life is affected, to no small degree, by property ownership.

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\* The following advertisement, copied verbatim from the *Pall Mall Magazine*, one of the leading periodicals of Great Britain, explains itself.

#### IRISH DISTRESSED LADIES' FUND.

PATRON: HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

Executive Committee: President, H. R. H. the Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne; Vice-President, Her Grace the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough; Hon. Treasurer, H. H. Pleydell Bouverie, Esq.; Bankers, Messrs. Barclay Ransom & Co., 1 Pall Mall East, S. W.; Manageress Work Depot, Miss Campbell, 17 North Audley Street, W.; Secretary, General W. M. Lees, 17 North Audley Street, London, W.

The Committee appeal for funds for the relief of Ladies who depend for their support on the proceeds of Irish property, but who, owing to the depreciation in value of land and the non-receipt of their rents, have been reduced to absolute poverty.

Office and Work Depot, 17 North Audley Street, London, W.

The interests of the rich and poor can never be made a unit. Laws cannot be exactly fair to both. Financial responsibility gives to man a standing and credit that neither character, skill, nor any other force can supply. All business rests upon a financial basis, and of necessity tangible possession must form the standard by which men are rated in the business world. In a thousand ways ownership of property is a passport to success and usefulness from which the propertyless are entirely debarred. No wholesome social condition can possibly exist until each life becomes wedded to some financial entity that it can call its own. Advocate financial irregularities as they now exist, if we will, submit to them if we must, the fact remains that the condition is a constant menace to the common good.

Financial differences when justly created and held in reasonable check strengthen the social order, but when allowed unlimited sway and power they invite social chaos. Those who represent wealth get more than their share of experience and become giants and monstrosities, while those who have nothing are denied the higher forms of exercise and become pygmies. The successful are being constantly inspired to renewed vigor, while the unsuccessful are tempted to give up in despair. Through the influence of wealth upon one side and poverty upon the other, men become separated socially, religiously, and industrially. The one class become leaders, the other followers; one become proprietors, the other wage-earners; one masters, the other servants; one landlords, the other tenants. One class grows, the other becomes blighted and dwarfed; one becomes strong, the other weak; one keeps interested and wide-awake, the other grows indifferent and apathetic. One class becomes as the mighty oaks of the forest whose roots are deeply sunk into the earth, their summits kissing the sunshine and defying the storm, while the other class becomes as the bramble and scrub that struggle for existence in the shade and dampness below. Men may consider such conditions natural, but justice declares it a crime; the apologist may call it progress, but God pronounces it perdition.

When these conditions become fixed, as they are in America to-day, there may be a remedy other than a division of

property, but if so it is as yet undiscovered. Not only our own land, but the people of all the earth are waiting and longing for some way out of the thralldom of concentrated riches and diffused poverty. All over the earth mankind is divided into the classes and the masses—one dying of luxury and indolence, the other of ignorance and vice. To try to reconcile mankind to such an infamous portion is a crime. It is as much a duty to preach discontent among the people and lead them to a happier and better condition when they are dying through the blighting effects of wealth and poverty as it is to preach conviction and repentance to a sin-cursed world. When a remedy is known, it is as much a sin not to proclaim it as it would be to withhold the Gospel of light from the realm of spiritual darkness. Indeed, these things are a part of religion. The reason why Christianity does not progress faster is because we ignore its forerunning requirements—the “way” is not prepared.

If individual ownership were to become universal among those who are now journeymen and irresponsible wage-earners, an incalculable impetus would be given to handicraft. It would tend to establish character and raise the standard of citizenship, and the public would be infinitely better served. Not only are those who work entitled to the privilege of ownership, but the people have a right to expect that what they purchase shall be produced under the best possible conditions. When men become owners as well as workers, manufactured goods and merchandise with a quality based upon personal honor will flood our markets. Industry, skill, and genius will then experience a new birth. The best in man will be aroused. Business will take to itself a soul. Men cannot render their best efforts unless the highest power of mind and will are called into action. The Golden Rule in business cannot be obeyed, nor can the highest achievements in service be attained, until every man is the master architect of his own fortune. If a factory, or store, or mill were operated by a hundred men, each one of whom were part owner, not only a hundred pairs of hands would toil, but the brain of a hundred individuals would think and plan, and a hundred families

would be financially related and interested; all of which, beyond controversy, is necessary to secure the best service.

With confidence permanently established, an abundance of money in circulation, work for everybody, and every home a nucleus of wealth for larger growth, an era of unprecedented prosperity would be at hand. Compensation would not only be assured, but it would increase. Values would rise. Profits would be stable. Legions of marriages would take place. The natural channels of development and progress would be opened. Work would be abundant. The supply of workers would run short. The indolent and improvident would be forced into service. Tramps and industrial vagabonds would be shamed into action. Complaints about hard times, the misery of the poor, the extravagances of the rich, the slavery of labor, and the oppressions of capital would cease. Everybody could afford good clothes. The excuses of the unfortunate and of the derelict would no longer prevail. The God-intended goal of mankind would be within reach.

The sweet grace of charity, now so much abused, would find its normal sphere. Drunkenness would become an intolerable outrage. Begging would be a crime. Laziness, stupidity, and worthlessness would become transparent faults. Pessimism could well go out of business. Everybody could buy what they need and pay cash. The credit system, that abomination of modern business, could be wiped out. Doctors' bills could be paid. New customs of business and rules of society could be adopted. The rich would cease to kill themselves through indolence and luxury, and the poor to die through overwork and the lack of necessities.

Religion and morality would reap a rich harvest. Patriotism would become enthroned and politics purified. Merit, and not money, would elevate men into office, and wholesale bribery would be impossible. Crime would be reduced to a minimum. Civilization, science, education, art, invention, and progress would center in the United States.

A divide-up would inaugurate a practical age. Men would become independent. There would need be no more slaves, either social, industrial, or political. The honest

convictions and the sincere opinions of men would no longer cower within the breast.

No matter what might be said of the result of other measures, the effects of a divide-up and start-even are not a conjecture. As an issue in the nation it is more than a theory. It is human nature under the domination of common sense. It is not the vague illusion of a dream, but the tangible application of cold facts. In its scope as an issue it would cover the entire country. It would give no man an advantage over another, nor would it forget a single person, no matter how obscure or helpless.

It would be a measure the adoption of which would lift our national character to the highest plane possible in the present age of history. "Trust the people," said the immortal Wendell Phillips—"the wise and the ignorant, the good and the bad—with the greatest questions, and in the end you will educate the race. At the same time you secure, not perfect institutions, not necessarily good ones, but the best institutions possible while human nature is the basis and the only material to build with."



Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land fail. . . . In that day shall the fair virgins and young men faint for thirst.—AMOS.

Woe, then, to all who grind  
Their brethren of a common Father down!  
To all who plunder from the immortal mind—  
Its bright and glorious crown!—WHITTIER.

The man who kindles the fire on the hearthstone of an honest and righteous home burns the best incense to liberty.—HENRY W. GRADY.

For a child to be born to a life of poverty; to have to struggle for its bread almost from the cradle; to be doomed through youth and manhood to such a round of unremunerative employment that age finds him without any resource from starvation except the precarious gleanings of the street or the cold community charity of the poorhouse; to pass from birth to death, as millions do, engaged all the time in a sharp fight with his fellows for the bare necessities of existence, is an unfair condition for which there is and must be a remedy.—H. W. CADMAN.

Until the immortal and God-like capacities of every human being that comes into the world are deemed more worthy, are watched more tenderly, than any other thing, no dynasty of men or form of government can stand or shall stand upon the face of the earth; and the force or the fraud which would seek to uphold them shall be but fetters of flax to bind the flame.—HORACE MANN.

Marriage establishes a relation of affections and interests which can in no other way be made to exist between two human beings. It creates the domestic fireside. It gives origin to the sacred relation of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, and those endearing relations which arise from them. Strike out from the life of man all the hopes, interests, and motives which grow out of this relation, and what were left but a cheerless, a desolate, and a merely brutal existence?—DANIEL WISE.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## A DIVIDE-UP WOULD GIVE THE YOUNG A CHANCE.

A GREAT many useless and silly things have been said and written to young people. Enough advice is wasted every year over young men and young women to operate a millennium.

Fathers and mothers buy books which portray in seraphic language the lives of such men as Washington, Webster, Lincoln, Clay, Garfield, Franklin, Edison, Peabody, and others, and take them home and say: "Here, my son, I have brought you a nice book which gives the life of a good and great man. Read it carefully and profit by its teachings, and when you grow up I hope you will be a great man too." There is much truth in Longfellow's familiar verse:

*"Lives of great men all remind us  
We can make our lives sublime,  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Footprints on the sands of time."*

This is beautiful sentiment, and all books illustrative of great lives are useful, but they are exceedingly limited in their application. They all lack a vital element—the inspiring force for present occasions. Not one man in a million can be a Washington, a Franklin, or a Napoleon. To study biographical history is both instructive and useful, but to turn the records of the ages and study the lives of heroes and their achievements for a whole year does not profit a young man so much as it does for him to catch a glimpse of his own mission and its highest possibilities for a single moment, or for him to draw off his coat, roll up his sleeves, and dig and strive toward those possibilities for a single day.

Every child born upon American soil is entitled to three things: a good birth, a good training, and a fair oppor-

tunity. But American parenthood has lost and ceased to convey its natural heritage. Through the deadening influence of custom parenthood has become willing to throw one chance of success among a hundred of its sons and watch, with apparent satisfaction and composure, the scramble for the prize, laying the trophies of fame and fortune at the feet of him who wins, but turning with cold forgetfulness from the ninety-and-nine unfortunates who must subsist upon the bitter herbs of defeat and despair.

There are not far from 10,000,000 young men in the United States between the ages of eighteen and thirty. Every one of them was born for a purpose. They have the God-given right to demand that ten million opportunities be made a possibility. These opportunities should not be a deception or a dream, to lure to servitude and ruin, but there should be in each an assured livelihood and a fair measure of success. It should mean not only good food, good clothing, and comfortable shelter, but a home with all the endearment of the fireside, respectable social environments such as encourage good citizenship, and reasonable prospects for old age.

Of the 10,000,000 young men in our nation, a large percentage are constantly looking for something to do. A much larger number have been forced to forsake their own inclinations, bury their natural talents, and accept such means of livelihood as they could secure. Very few are given opportunity to choose their life's work and enter upon it without being crippled through the domination of the money power. Nearly all of them are employed by others as wage-earners, only a small percentage becoming their own masters.

As beginners, young men find almost every trade, business, and profession greatly overcrowded. There are too many mechanics, too many laborers, too many farmers, too many merchants, too many doctors, too many lawyers, too many everything. The time when young men could select a calling in harmony with their natural bent, enter upon its attending duties, settle down, build a home, establish a reputation among men, and live and prosper and finally retire and enjoy the fruits of energy and usefulness seems to have passed.

To bring up children as is becoming the American custom, and when they have grown to maturity send them out wholesale into the world where conditions are such that all are severely tested and only a few can possibly succeed, is a species of political and social barbarism in as great need of correction as was the heathenism that gave its offspring as food to the monsters in the river Ganges.

Were a divide-up of property made, the circumstances and opportunities of the young would undergo a revolution. Every young man in the nation would be worth \$1,000. Every young woman would be worth an equal amount. Put together, the two amounts would make a very respectable beginning for a newly married couple.

There are at present about 500,000 marriages annually in the United States, while over 800,000 young couples arrive at a marriageable age. There are over 3,000,000 young men in the nation who would like to get married. The chief reason why they do not is because they cannot afford it. They cannot support wives. Their prospects will not justify the venture. It is as natural for a young man to fall in love and marry as it is for a woman, and to be defeated by circumstances is a direct blow to the highest, noblest, and best in manhood.

If a divide-up should bring to young men faith in themselves, an assurance of their ability to support wives and families, and a substantial trust in the future, there would be 2,000,000 more marriages within two years than will otherwise occur. No result of genuine and established prosperity is more plainly foreseen.

It is not generally appreciated to what extent business conditions affect matrimony. Nothing else so regulates the number of marriages like good or hard times. In a recent article entitled "The American Girl's Chances of Matrimony," in the *Ladies' Home Journal* (March, 1899), Prof. D. R. McAnally states that in good times the number of marriages has gone up to 26 per 1,000, while during hard times it has gone down to 15 per 1,000, which shows, as he says, "a tremendous rise or falling off" due entirely to existing prosperity or the lack of it. To claim that the improved conditions incident to a divide-up of property would cause at least 2,000,000 marriages in two years more

than will otherwise occur is placing the number, based upon actual experience, below rather than above well-founded indications.

A signally important fact is that the young men and young women who avoid marriage on account of lack of prospects are, as a rule, those whose marriage would mean much to society. It is the careful, the cautious, and the thoughtful of both sexes who avoid matrimony unless its responsibilities can be fairly and faithfully met. Few are the parents who will willingly give a daughter in wedlock when nothing is visible but poverty and privation. In the midst of such blighted prospects as inevitably prevail under our present industrial conditions, it is those who regard the marriage relations the most sacred, its duties the most binding, and its issues the most vital and precious that naturally avoid it and live unnatural lives in celibacy. Some one has said that society should organize itself and prohibit improvident marriages for its own protection. For reasons infinitely more rational should these millions, whose manhood and womanhood are fated through the domination of greed, organize and as one solid force demand that they be no longer doomed to celibate exile. Every young man and every young woman in the nation should become consecrated to the cause. It would be a conquest over which the Shekinah of heaven would rest and a victory over which the angels would rejoice.

These 2,000,000 marriages would mean 2,000,000 homes, with all that ownership and fair prospects insure. Each one of these homes would be a nucleus for enlargement and radiation, and of far greater contributing value than where marriage means, as it too often does now, simply two souls joining in a struggle against adversity and the caprice of perverted enterprise.

The marriages which now take place would also mean far more than they at present do or otherwise will. The revival of business that would result from marriages alone under the improved conditions of a divide-up would produce an unparalleled revolution in manufacture and trade. Every woodman and miller, brick maker and plasterer, surveyor and architect, carpenter and builder, painter and decorator, would be overwhelmed with work. Every man-

ufactory of furniture, carpets, stoves, tinware, glassware, silverware, bridal goods, chinaware, sewing machines, clothing, dry goods, cooking utensils, household goods, tools for workmen and machinery to make—every workman of every craft and every mill of every kind in the United States, working night and day, could not supply the demand. Genuine prosperity would come. Natural progress would take place. The divine order of things would begin to operate. It would be God's way of building a nation. It is the home and the home life of the people which keep men and machinery busy. Preëminently is this true. It is the family life—civilization wedded to its affections and ideals—which supports the farm, the store, the factory, the school, the Church, and the professional man. When a young man and young woman marry and establish a fireside, they at once become a factor in the community which is created in no other way.

A divide-up and start-even would, if carried out in its true spirit, dower all young women. This would be a measure exceedingly desirable and one that should prevail everywhere. Its moral and social effect would be incalculable. Our civilization will not get far removed from barbarism until young women, when they arrive at marriageable age, are given a respectable dowry. For young girls to be forced out into the world moneyless and friendless, as thousands are in our rich and beautiful land, is as disgraceful as it is wicked. In the land of Canaan women possessed a dowry. Of them Solomon said: "Every wise woman buildeth her house." A desirable and just condition would be where a young woman should bring a home and a young man a vocation and a business to the marriage altar.

If a divide-up and start-even were to cause 2,000,000 marriages more than will otherwise occur, the effect upon business would be tremendous.

In the following list an approximation of the expenditures of 2,000,000 married couples for ten years is given. Some couples would spend more and some less, but the general average here implied is within reasonable bounds. It is supposed that each man and woman owned \$1,000 at the start and that they lived during financial prosperity:

## BUSINESS CAUSED IN TEN YEARS BY 2,000,000 MARRIAGES.

|                                                                                                      |                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 2,000,000 men invest \$1,000 each in business .....                                                  | \$2,000,000,000 |
| 2,000,000 engagement rings at \$10...                                                                | 20,000,000      |
| 4,000,000 wedding outfits at \$50...                                                                 | 200,000,000     |
| 2,000,000 wives invest in homes \$1,500 each (\$1,000 cash, \$500 in Building and Loan Association). | 2,000,000,000   |
| 2,000,000 wedding fees at \$10.....                                                                  | 20,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 weddings at \$20.....                                                                      | 40,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 suits of furniture at \$50..                                                               | 100,000,000     |
| 2,000,000 bedroom suits at \$40.....                                                                 | 80,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 bedroom suits at \$20.....                                                                 | 40,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 sitting-room suits at \$25..                                                               | 50,000,000      |
| 100,000,000 yards of carpet at 60 cents.                                                             | 60,000,000      |
| 100,000,000 yards of carpet at 40 cents.                                                             | 40,000,000      |
| 40,000,000 yards of oil cloth at 50 cents                                                            | 20,000,000      |
| 4,000,000 rugs at \$2.....                                                                           | 8,000,000       |
| 2,000,000 parlor stoves at \$15.....                                                                 | 30,000,000      |
| 4,000,000 beds at \$12.....                                                                          | 48,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 collections of bric-à-brac, etc., at \$20.....                                             | 40,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 clocks at \$10.....                                                                        | 20,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 building and loan, principal and interest.....                                             | 1,120,000,000   |
| 1,000,000 bicycles at \$25.....                                                                      | 25,000,000      |
| 6,000,000 mirrors at \$4.....                                                                        | 24,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 dining tables at \$10.....                                                                 | 20,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 table outfits at \$25.....                                                                 | 50,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 sets of tinware, etc., at \$5..                                                            | 10,000,000      |
| 5,000,000 baby outfits at \$10.....                                                                  | 50,000,000      |
| 1,500,000 baby carriages at \$6.....                                                                 | 9,000,000       |
| 2,000,000 tax bills—ten years—\$100 each .....                                                       | 200,000,000     |
| 2,000,000 gold and silver ware at \$20.                                                              | 40,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 doctors' bills—\$100 each...                                                               | 200,000,000     |
| 2,000,000 medicine bills—\$25 each...                                                                | 50,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 contributions—church and benevolence .....                                                 | 1,200,000,000   |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| 2,000,000 amusements—ten years—<br>\$12.50 per year.....                                                                                                                                                                               | 250,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 family Bibles at \$8.....                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 16,000,000       |
| Newspapers, magazines, books, etc...                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 300,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 building and loan stock....                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 300,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 insurance, societies, etc....                                                                                                                                                                                                | 300,000,000      |
| 100,000 pianos at \$300.....                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 30,000,000       |
| 300,000 organs at \$80.....                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 25,000,000       |
| 2,000,000 grocery bills—\$100 per year                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 2,000,000,000    |
| 2,000,000 Christmas supplies—ten<br>years .....                                                                                                                                                                                        | 300,000,000      |
| 2,000,000 incidentals, pin-money for<br>wife, pocket-money for husband<br>and children, clothing, hats, bon-<br>nets, shoes, dry goods, sundries,<br>fancy goods, pictures, photos,<br>car fare, repairs and general<br>expenses ..... | 4,300,000,000    |
| Cash on hand, same as at the beginning.                                                                                                                                                                                                |                  |
| 4,000,000 adults at \$50 each.....                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 200,000,000      |
| 5,000,000 children at \$25 each.....                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 125,000,000      |
| <hr/>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                  |
| Total for ten years.....                                                                                                                                                                                                               | \$16,000,000,000 |

The property and income of these 2,000,000 families during the ten years are represented as follows: The income of each is placed at \$600 per annum, a very low estimate for a period of marked business activity such as would follow a divide-up and start-even.

#### PROPERTY AND INCOME FOR TEN YEARS.

|                                                    |                  |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| 2,000,000 men started with \$1,000<br>each .....   | \$2,000,000,000  |
| 2,000,000 women started with \$1,000<br>each ..... | 2,000,000,000    |
| Income of each family \$600 per year..             | \$12,000,000,000 |
| <hr/>                                              |                  |
| Total .....                                        | \$16,000,000,000 |

At the end of ten years the value of their property may be fairly estimated as follows:

## VALUE OF PROPERTY AT END OF TEN YEARS.

|                                                                     |                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 2,000,000 homes, original cost.....                                 | \$3,000,000,000 |
| Increase in value.....                                              | 1,000,000,000   |
| 2,000,000 businesses, farms, etc., cost..                           | 2,000,000,000   |
| Increase in value.....                                              | 2,000,000,000   |
| 2,000,000 lots of furniture, etc. (less<br>than cost).....          | 500,000,000     |
| Insurance, building and loan, and<br>other interests.....           | 500,000,000     |
| <hr/>                                                               |                 |
| Total possessions of 2,000,000 families<br>(9,000,000 persons)..... | \$9,000,000,000 |

Following the same principle that would exist in a general divide, the property would be represented as follows:

## REPRESENTATION OF PROPERTY AT END OF TEN YEARS.

|                                       |                 |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 2,000,000 husbands, \$1,000 each..... | \$2,000,000,000 |
| 2,000,000 wives, \$1,000 each.....    | 2,000,000,000   |
| 5,000,000 children, \$1,000 each..... | 5,000,000,000   |
| <hr/>                                 |                 |
| Total .....                           | \$9,000,000,000 |

In addition to the above, if each adult and each child represented the original allotment in cash the families would have \$325,000,000 cash in bank.

If the foregoing average were maintained, these 2,000,000 families would, during ten years, cause the circulation of \$12,000,000,000. Supposing that these expenditures passed through three hands aside from the producer, it would comprise a total business of \$36,000,000,000. If profits amounted to 20 per cent. the business would support over 1,000,000 families. These figures are not overdrawn, and if our manufacturing and commercial interests were commensurate with the unlimited resources of the country they would be more than realized. If the essential reform were adopted to produce the opportunities, the

marriages would take place and the subsequent developments would surely follow.

These 2,000,000 young men are now not only unable to get married, but they must struggle to earn a living. Instead of becoming husbands and fathers, they are industrial slaves and are forced to eke out an unnatural existence. They are being forced to accept whatever offers. Their environments are, in the main, vicious. Legions of them, in consequence, grow clandestine in morals and dissipated in habits. Thousands of them are a menace rather than a help to the nation. They have been robbed of their birthright, and thus, shorn of prospects and ambition, they complacently surrender to the cruel terms of fate.

An additional fact is that of the 5,000,000 marriages that will occur anyhow during the next ten years, a great majority of them would be made under circumstances infinitely more favorable if a divide-up should take place.

From a business standpoint, the same facts that apply to those who cannot marry will also apply with much force to the multitudes of those who will enter matrimony. Under present conditions a large share of these marriages mean very little to business. In too many cases it is simply another struggle instead of a home; another failure instead of another success.

A still further consideration is that there are a legion of young couples and a legion not so young already married, but who are wrestling with poverty and the vicissitudes of wage-earning, who would start afresh under the new and improved conditions. A good percentage of the 12,000,000 families in the nation would recast their domestic and social life. Growing childhood would also breathe a new atmosphere and experience a new hope.

These 2,000,000 extra marriages, in connection with the improved circumstances and consuming power of those who are married, would cause a complete revolution in the industrial and business world.

Young women and girls would leave factory, store, and office. The sweet charms of womanly virtue would no longer be sacrificed upon the altars of mammonism. Womanhood would seek its true realm—the home and the fireside.

There would also be a revolution in the training of children. As marriage would become the natural event of maturing womanhood, girls would be trained in the duties and arts of home life rather than to venture amid the sharp rivalries of the store and the degrading duties of the factory and shop. Trained in the handicraft of the home, they would bring to the embrace of the lover and to the marriage altar the accomplishments becoming a wife and the sweet modesty and affection of their mothers, instead of that strange mixture of mockeries now far too common.

From factory and store, from school-room and office thus made vacant and short of help, would come an unprecedented demand for men. Every idle man, young or old, would be absorbed. Millions of men would be needed to meet the new demand. The supply would be entirely inadequate. Every man who is now accepting some subterfuge at starvation wages could find investment for his capital and honorable employment both for hands and brain.

The 1,000,000 men who are now engaged in or employed by the liquor business, killing their fellows and damning themselves, could abandon their accursed vocation and find a business both elevating and profitable. And even all of these would not satisfy the demand for men. The call for workers would cross the seas. The best mechanics and the best intellects of the world would find America a choice field in which to live and labor.

These marriages will take place and these changes will exist when our sons and daughters are given the opportunities which belong to them. The growth of the nation and of the people here suggested is a natural one. How infinitely better it would be to thus utilize our young manhood at home than to send it to suffer and die in a war of conquest. That our national lawmakers have totally ignored the subject shows that genuine statesmanship has ceased to exist. Man clings to nothing as he does to home, and nothing will give skill to his hand and temper his soul more surely than to become a husband and father. The noblest and most precious in the human heart seldom finds expression unless enshrined around the family fireside.

Various measures may bring prosperity for a season, but unless the avenues to success and usefulness are kept open to new recruits and to the young stagnation will inevitably follow. In the young are vested the welfare and destiny of a people. When they are properly trained and given their legitimate birthright honor and plenty will be theirs, and the nation in their hands will be safe while the promises of God endure.

The question naturally imposes itself: *Is it the duty of the young manhood of the nation to compel a divide-up and start-even?*

To develop an issue involving the readjustment of over \$50,000,000,000 in property would stand without a parallel in all history; and surely it is a serious matter for the younger generation of voters to wield a weapon so powerful and far-reaching as this. But it is to be remembered that young men represent the inherent strength and vital force of the nation. They have always been the willing factor in the conquests of war, and it is for them to be the impelling force in the triumphs of peace.

If a divide-up and start-even is practicable, desirable, and just, it is the imperative duty of young men to freely enlist in behalf of the measure and loyally follow it to success. They alone possess the essential force. To them the magnitude of the cause only makes it a more sacred trust.

About 1,000,000 young men assume the privileges of citizenship each year. That upon them are imposed tremendous responsibilities admits of no denial. These young men are strong not only in physical and moral force, but in political power. Their political strength is one of their chief talents; to use this talent is one of their first and highest duties. If political corruption can be destroyed, it is their duty to destroy it. If industry is enslaved, it is their duty to give it liberty. If wealth and poverty require equalizing, it is their duty to bring it about. For them to remain indifferent is to ignore a sacred duty. For them to refuse to enlist is to commit a sin.

There the in our country nearly 6,000,000 voters

under thirty years of age, and a decided majority of our citizens are under forty. These millions of men are in the full vigor of manhood's prime. In a manner, challenging every other consideration, they have claims upon the natural resources of the country. Young men are not responsible for their birth, their training, or their inherited environments. But they are responsible to the full extent of their power for the correction of unjust conditions and for the overthrow of existing evils, be they financial, social, or political.

It is also the duty of young men and those in the prime of life to honestly provide and wisely plan for their families and their posterity. They possess the absolute and undeniable right to demand that no unjust force or usurping power interpose between the people in common and a fair share of those advantages and comforts with which our country so richly abounds. Present conditions and customs have grown to be a direct and constant conspiracy against the young and beginner generally. An oligarchy, powerful, aggressive, and desperate, usurps the natural rights of all, and the young more than any other class are the sufferers. In the warring rivalries of business the great majority of young men are little more than contrabands—industrial commodities submissively cowering to the kings and magnates of enterprise. Legions of men never even so much as dream of their God-intended birthright. They grow old struggling against fate, striving against the inevitable, and go down to the grave hoping in the face of doom. In justice to themselves and to their kin and kind, it is the duty of young men to demand a readjustment of the nation's possessions. For them to ignore their duty is a public crime. For them to falter or lose courage is to dishonor and forsake the flag.

But it is not through personal interest that the needful motive force will come to the younger generations of citizens. Deeply as they may desire to better their own condition or secure their individual rights, they would not act or stand firm for these alone. It is unselfish devotion, sincere patriotism, and love of justice—the wedding of the heart to a righteous cause—that arouse the younger forces to activity and service. Deeply as these millions of voters

desire to better their condition, still more profoundly do they desire a happier lot for the country of their birth. While they are patiently waiting for the advent of a new era, they stand ready to volunteer in behalf of a genuinely beneficent issue, no matter what sacrifice it may require. All they need is wise leadership and the inspiring evidences of humanity's cause.

Profoundly true, also, is it that in the midst of grave responsibilities none are more loyal than the young. Even in times of national crises none are so unflinching and brave. Their patriotism and loyalty are always the protecting bulwark and the redeeming power in the hour of peril.

Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.—PAUL.

“O clear-eyed Faith and Patience, thou  
So calm and strong!  
Lend strength to weakness, teach us how  
The sleepless eyes of God look through  
This night of wrong.”—WHITTIER.

Half of the cruelty in the world is the direct result of stupid incapacity to put one's self in the other man's place.—JOHN FISKE.

Just laws are no restraint upon the freedom of the good, for the good man desires nothing which a just law will interfere with.—FROUDE.

Poverty is a prolific source of thriftlessness, intemperance, vice, and crime. When no ray of hope lights up the future, demoralization soon follows.—W. W. ROSS.

I do not call that state of society progressive where moral and spiritual truths are forgotten or disregarded in the triumphs of a brilliant material life.—JOHN LORD.

It is not often that great accumulations of wealth do anybody good. They usually spoil the happiness of two generations—one in the getting and one in the spending.—J. G. HOLLAND.

It seems to me a great truth, that human things cannot stand on selfishness, mechanical utilities, economics, and law courts; that if there be not a religious element in the relations of men, such relations are miserable and doomed to ruin.—CARLYLE.

For myself, twenty-one years of study and observation have convinced me that poverty is the prime cause of intemperance, and that misery is the mother and hereditary appetite the father of the drink hallucination.—FRANCES WILLARD.

## CHAPTER IX.

## BUSINESS AFFAIRS COULD BE RECAST AND RENOVATED.

BUSINESS is in need of a general house-cleaning. So is the realm of industry. Nothing could prove more wholesome than to subject our whole system of enterprise to a complete renovation and pruning.

There are some kinds of business which need to be uprooted and prohibited forever. There are many enslaving features connected with both business and industry, due to abnormal conditions, intense rivalries, and other causes which need readjusting. Under the present strain of competition multitudes of men do things, in business and in labor, which their manhood would indignantly spurn under more favorable conditions. Men, both rich and poor, are to-day serving hard task-masters. Money has become king; and, like all heartless despots, it is tyrannical and cruel. It wields the scepter of power over the business man and manufacturer and demands that they bow the neck or quit the field; it stands over the laboring man and mechanic and demands that they bow the knee or starve.

No matter what philosophical ideas we may have conceived regarding mankind, it is blessed with much that is intrinsically good and aspiring. Man was made perfect. His original and normal nature is pure and good; and although warped and scarred by sin, he is crawling and climbing upward, however slowly it may be, toward an earthly Eden.

Men do not sell liquor because they want to do so; nor do they drink it from genuine choice. Men do not work on Sunday because they prefer labor to rest. Men do not live in idleness and indolence and ignorance because they prefer these things to industry and thrift and intelligence. Not thousands, but millions, of men are doing things that their consciences and better sense condemn, because they feel forced to do them.

There are multitudes of men in the liquor business who would be as glad to get out of it as the most rabid temperance reformer would be to see the whole license system destroyed. If manufacturers and dealers in liquor could abandon their vocations without great financial loss and find a business more ennobling and respectable and equally remunerative, the most of them would gladly do so. That they do not seek a more desirable business in these times of extremely limited opportunity is not surprising.

The secret of correct living is in avoiding temptation; it is only the rare conscience that can stand erect in the midst of it. It does not appear that saloon keepers are very different from other people. Most of them at heart are honorable men. They inwardly deplore their calling, but their invested interests and their dismantling associations hold them firmly grasped. The business of liquor-selling is almost as destructive to the will and as alienating to the life as the drink habit itself. It is quite as impossible to prevent men from selling liquor when they have once begun it as it is to prohibit drunkenness when the habit of drinking has been formed.

*During a divide-up of the property of the United States among all the people the entire business of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors as a beverage could be abandoned and forever condemned without loss to any one. Financially the loss need not be felt.*

By recognizing the fact that it is the people who give the nation a money value, and not business and stores and manufactories, it is easily seen that a whole branch of business, no matter how large, when that business is not a necessary part of civilization, can be dispensed with and no decrease in values occur. If an injurious business were thus eradicated values would actually increase.

The manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors as a beverage as carried on in our country is a gigantic curse. That it deserves to be destroyed is the sincere belief of an overwhelming majority of the people. For many years a widespread effort has been made to arouse public sentiment upon the subject. Forces—religious, political, social, fraternal, and educational—representing a large share of the best manhood and womanhood in the nation are organ-

ized and for years have diligently labored to curtail the drink habit and prevent the sale of intoxicants among the people. But the results have been disappointing. The traffic not only survives, but continues with increasing magnitude.

There are many reason why these efforts, strong and sincere as they are, have accomplished so little. Immense wealth is invested in the liquor traffic. It gives employment to nearly 1,000,000 persons. The annual business done amounts to over \$1,000,000,000. It is exceptionally profitable. Those who buy liquor are among the most persistent and consistent customers in the world. It furnishes a chief source of revenue to support the Government. Through the avenue of license it helps to school our children, to pay our taxes, and make business for the politician. It is a unit of force—a dominating power—in politics, while its enemies are divided and confused.

To prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquors as a beverage, as matters now stand is well-nigh impossible. As a single issue in politics it is at a great disadvantage. If carried out, the majority of those engaged in the business would be reduced to poverty. If turned out into the world, with other lines of business greatly overcrowded, the most of them would find it next to impossible to earn a living. True it is that \$1,000,000,000 annually spent in the saloons would be turned into legitimate channels, and that other kinds of business would enormously improve; but the fact remains that it would be a great sacrifice to the liquor interests, a loss which, to the end, will be desperately and bitterly opposed.

But during a divide-up of property the whole liquor business could be cast aside, and all those engaged in it provided for as thoroughly as though it had been retained. Every person and every family would receive an allotment. The improved business conditions would insure a prosperous livelihood to all, and the social relations of liquor dealers and their families would be infinitely improved. There is no reason why the liquor men, who usually oppose moral reforms, should not, through self-interest, view with favor and work and vote to secure the destruction of their business if its overthrow should be accompanied by

the compensating overtures involved in a universal division of property.

The liquor interests of the United States are rapidly becoming absorbed by foreign capital, and a large majority of saloon keepers and bartenders would be better off financially, socially, and industrially after a divide-up had taken place than they are now. Considered from every standpoint, perhaps no class of persons would be greater gainers than liquor sellers, saloon keepers, and bartenders.

*Another enterprise in need of legal subjection or uprooting entirely is the secret or patent medicine business.* During a divide-up of property all existing patents and copyrights would expire. Then every secret in the manufacture of medicine would be made known. Opportunity would exist for a long-needed reform regarding secret nostrums in medicine, in food products, and other useful commodities. Few things need correcting so much. While many of these highly advertised articles possess genuine merit, the fact remains that the people are being swindled upon every side. Many secret medicines are worthless, others create a habit for drugs that enslave, and not a few are positively harmful. Their use costs the American people hundreds of millions in money every year. That their sale goes on unrestricted by intelligent oversight is a public reproach. Viewed in the proper light, the patent medicine business is more in need of legal restriction than the liquor business. Our entire system of medicine, including allied enterprises, needs revolutionizing. Properly conducted, the transformation could be systematically and thoroughly done. Suppose such a reform cost fifty or even a hundred millions in money: it would be money well spent. Congress might appoint a national commission composed of one physician and one pharmacist in each county in the United States to perform the task. Every fact in medicine and every secret in manufacture could be submitted to this committee. Lists of questions could be prepared regarding every remedy and every disease, and these lists submitted for replies to every physician and druggist in the nation. In this way a consensus of opinion of the entire medical fraternity might be secured and the real

value of every remedy and the best remedies for every disease made known. A new system of medicine would thus be evolved, based upon actual and up-to-date experience, representing every section of the nation and every school of medicine.

The investigation would include not only every drug, but every formula and secret medicine. The good could be retained and in the future compounded by any druggist, and the worthless and injurious condemned and cast aside. If "Soothing Syrup," "Castoria," or "Celery Compound" are the best for the purpose that can be devised, they would find an official place among medicinal compounds and be kept for sale at all drug stores in any quantity at a much less price than they now cost. If they are injurious and worthless the people would find it out. A new Pharmacopœia and Dispensatory would follow, giving official recognition of the best of everything in the form of medicine. Any druggist could prepare any medicine. The best combinations would be known. Every physician would have the entire field of medicine open before him, and he could prescribe exactly the article best indicated. In short, the stock of medicines in drug stores would conform to the new official standards, and embrace every desirable medical agent. Under the new order of things preparations could be officially examined by public experts and a standard of purity guaranteed which is impossible so long as secret remedies are used.

The secret feature of the medicine business is unscientific and can well be abandoned. If there exists a specific for any disease, it is a moral crime for any man to conceal the fact. Laws which protect such secrets are indefensible. Yet about 75 per cent. of the medicine used in this nation is of a proprietary nature. Thousands of remedies are advertised with an extravagance simply astounding. Perhaps more people are frightened into sickness by reading advertisements than are cured by the remedies they laud so highly. In no other realm are so many schemes launched forth. Nowhere else is fraud so rampant. Let a secret medicine meet success, and soon it has imitations a dozen deep. The shelves of the drug store groan through their multiplication. Nostrums of a pro-

fessional kind so bewilder the physician that the practice of medicine is losing the technical range it once enjoyed. Pharmaceutical manufacturers flood physicians' offices with samples of their semi-secret compounds, and a large part of the medicines prescribed by doctors is in reality secret or patent medicines. Their knowledge of them at best is imperfect and obscure.

The injustice and injuries of the secret medicine business have never been fully appreciated. Their almost universal use is to be greatly deplored, as much harm inevitably results. On account of them the usefulness of physicians is greatly handicapped. They are expensive. They have almost ceased to be a profit to the druggist. Their use is never scientific and conduces to ignorance and imaginary results. With certain exceptions they are recommended far beyond the range of their actual merits. Their advertisements disfigure almost every highway and landscape. They trespass with cunning solicitation over the threshold of almost every physician's office. In newspaper, in almanac, circular, and booklet, and in language immoral, untruthful, yet beguiling, they invade almost every fireside. No war is here waged against the sale of medicine in any form. The aim is simply to force the business to yield to present needs and the common interests of all. The secrecy, the deception, the evils connected with the business should be suppressed. The composition and working formula should be required upon every package offered for sale. The health and lives of the people are too precious to be sacrificed for the sake of greed at the expense of the honorable name of medicine.

When the use of medicine shall thus be reduced to a true science and its practical application to a system, a new era in therapeutics and hygiene would open up before us. The prevention of disease would, more than now, become the chief aim of the physician. Institutions would rapidly multiply for the treatment of defects of the body and mind. Contagious diseases would be driven out by isolation. Homes would exist where those affected with cancer, tuberculosis, and other loathsome maladies could be cared for and isolated from the public at large. Some of the diseases of modern times are greater scourges than

war. Their eradication should be of paramount concern. When sanitation rises to its proper level, the physician, rather than the lawyer, will become the consulting authority in municipal and public affairs.

Under an organized system measures which promote or insure the healthful development of the race could easily be adopted. Infinitely more than what is possible now, laws, and that still more potent factor, a wholesome public sentiment, would restrain unwise marriages. In a multitude of ways the national physique would be promoted and improved. Health, strength, and beauty would become a national characteristic, and the physical nature, now so neglected, would acquire its wonted perfection and become a chief element of the glory and symmetry of future progress.

*The manufacture and sale of tobacco might also be restricted to the narrowest limits.* The manufacture and sale of cigarettes could well be prohibited entirely. The sale of tobacco in any form to children should be prohibited by stringent laws. The evil effects of tobacco upon growing boys are disastrous. No measure could be more salutary in results than to entirely prevent its use among all persons under legal adult age. No conviction regarding society is growing more rapidly or becoming more deeply established than that the use of tobacco among the young threatens the deterioration of the race. When used by such it tends to dwarf the body, sap the intellect, and undermine the moral nature.

What is true regarding the use of liquor applies also to the use of tobacco. Men do not smoke and chew because they actually desire to do so; it is through the enslaving force of habit. The majority of those addicted to its use regret that they ever learned it. Its greatest enemies may be found among its most hopeless victims. But so long as the sight of it, its smoke and its smell invade and saturate their pathway they are its slaves. Were an election to be held to decide whether or not all tobacco should be destroyed and its growth prohibited forever, and only those who use it be allowed to vote, there are reasons for believing that the weed would be condemned by a veritable Waterloo. But victims of an evil habit, like slaves to other

things, seldom voluntarily rebel; yet when once set free they profoundly rejoice in their liberty.

*During a divide-up of property all gambling devices could be collected and destroyed and their use in the future prohibited.* Under present conditions nothing but the most flagrant and transparent fraud is amenable to the law. The struggle for bread is so intense that if a man can find a subsistence and feed and shelter his family, a marked degree of crookedness is allowed and condoned. Actual frauds, if quasi-plausible, can exist and flourish upon every side, with no one to molest or make afraid. It is not true, however, that the people like to be humbugged. But it is true that the vast majority of the people are honest, and being upright themselves they believe everybody else so; and their credulity exposes them to the cunning schemes of the impostor.

*During a divide-up pernicious literature could be easily confiscated and burned.* We are becoming a rival of France in vile literature, and the looseness of our laws is becoming a reproach before the world. The sickening details of crime and the illustrated horrors of blood-and-thunder stories, circulated, aye, sown over the country broadcast, are a crime against young manhood and morals that will surely reap a disastrous harvest unless the iniquity be suppressed. Hundreds of tons of such literature are sent out every year and read with an interest that is unbounded. To stop this poisonous assault upon developing minds is a duty that cannot be safely ignored.

*A divide-up and start-even would, more than any other measure settle the Sunday rest question.* When men become their own masters Sunday work will largely cease. When they become more impressed with responsibility Sunday desecration will greatly diminish. Exceedingly few are the men who work on Sunday through choice. Perhaps there is not one. The fact that hundreds of thousands of men work Sundays simply shows the despotism of capital over labor. Sabbath desecration, about which so much is said, is not so much the result of willfulness as it is of debilitating environments for six days and demoralizing temptation on the seventh. Sunday will be kept when its proper observance is made easy, and a large share

of mankind will never keep it otherwise. Men are apt to regard laws which enforce moral principles as tyrannical, and they will revolt until the legal commands visibly consort with the people's best interests, when they will yield and obey with filial devotion. The Sunday newspapers, the Sunday trains, and other financial operations on Sunday are not in response to a genuine demand. Were the people to become their own masters and able to otherwise afford recreation and entertainment, Sunday enterprise would be reduced to a trifle.

*A divide-up of property would entirely reconcile capital and labor.* They would become a unit. Strikes and lock-outs would be made impossible. Some of the gravest questions asking for settlement pertain to capital and labor. Many vital differences exist between employers and the employed, and new phases almost daily complicate the labor problem.

Under our present system *improved machinery* is becoming a formidable rival of wage-earning labor.. While labor-saving machinery favors civilization, it is a source of constant anxiety to those whose handicraft it threatens to supplant. It is claimed that enough labor-saving machinery is invented each year to supplant about 200,000 workmen if put into use. "*Labor-saving machinery versus the laboring man*" has already become one of the very greatest questions to be solved. Franklin, himself a great inventor, prophesied that in time there would not be over five hours' work daily for men on account of labor-saving devices. To settle this question right new power must be given the laboring man. He must have a voice where he is now dumb. Inventions should bless all, not a few; and above all they should benefit those whose muscle they supplant and whose toil they make more productive and easy. But such is not now the result. Too often they mean more wealth to capital and enforced idleness and poverty to the laborer.

The remedy for questions involving capital and labor is not arbitration, not profit-sharing, not strikes and deprecations, but an honest and thorough revolution of the entire industrial system. For capital to dominate over human lives as a wholesale and national custom is diabolical.

cal in practice and radically wrong in principle. To endeavor to reconcile labor and capital without changing their present relations is to attempt the impossible. With one the master and the other the slave, they will continue antagonistic and incompatible. But when those who work become proprietors they will become responsible and be given a voice in that wherein they are interested. They will be clothed with authority. Thus empowered, laborers could mutually regulate the hours of work as well as their individual profits. The whims and caprice of capital would no longer hold dominion over and dictate terms to labor.

If the Government should own the railroads, telegraphs, and mines, and municipalities the car lines, water and light plants, and other monopolies, those employed to operate them would be under regulations infinitely more fair and desirable than those now prevailing. Each man would receive a just compensation for his services, and there would be a personal dignity and responsibility that do not now exist. There would be no magnates hungry for millions squeezing wages to increase profits at every point.

*Not only does the vicious in business need to be discarded and labor and capital united, but legitimate and desirable forms of enterprise need to be renovated and equalized.*

When a bird clings too long to the same nest it is apt to become infested, and so it is with business activities. When long continued without disturbance deep ruts are formed, abuses grow up, and arbitrary methods are apt to prevail in the most exemplary forms of business. "Stock companies have no soul and corporations never die." Overgrown by age, great concerns merge into trusts and syndicates determined to monopolize the field, and they are only too willing to devour every rival that shows its head.

Competition, at one time "the life of business," has become almost sure death to the small merchant and the beginner. In the rivalries between the great and small concerns the large enterprise is forced to be aggressive and crushing in its influence. It is an axiom of business that an enterprise must either grow or decline. There is no standing still. Most of all, the large concern must grow

rapidly or become a great elephant upon the hands of its owners. As rivals in business the great concern has the vantage-ground. Everything bows to bigness: it has credit unlimited, advantages in buying, cheap transportation, the drift of the crowd, and favor in every detail. On the other hand, everything operates against smallness: purchases are too light, rating is too low, stock is too small, location is too obscure, people are not attracted. These characteristics are evident everywhere and in every form of enterprise. It was recently claimed that in one of our largest cities ten department stores transacted over 90 per cent. of the business of the city, and that over 8,000 small and medium sized storerooms were empty.

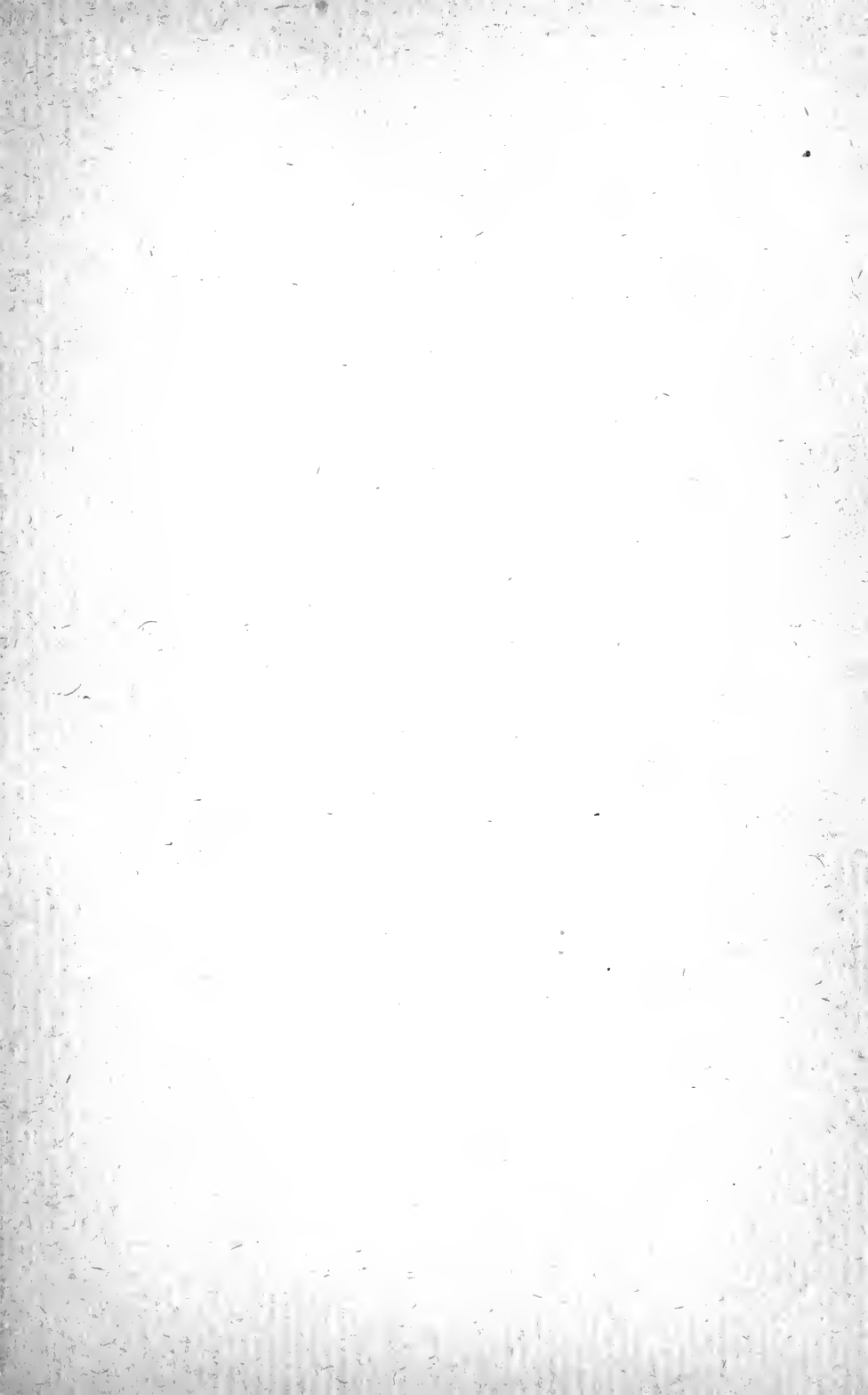
In direct conflict with everything genuinely American, we are rapidly developing into two great classes in business, in society, and in modes of thought and life. It is a condition that has long cursed Europe, and nothing but a determined uprising will prevent it from settling, like an atmosphere of gloom, upon the American republic.

But these large concerns cannot be destroyed. Indeed, they are not only a natural growth, but a necessity to meet the requirements of our time. It is not their size, but their ownership, that makes them dangerous. A divide-up and start-even would not necessarily close or embarrass the progress of a single large store or manufacturing concern; but it would correct the conditions and abuses that have grown up with them. It would simply change ownership.

Nor would it be necessary to disband the much-despised trusts and combines. Trusts are susceptible of an honorable and useful mission. There are good reasons why men engaged in any particular line of action should associate for mutual interest. If a just distribution of wealth existed it would doubtless be desirable to have every member of each branch of business, including farmers and professional men, as well as manufacturers, united through organizations for mutual intercourse and profit.

Under the new conditions, if a trust representing a certain national industry, embracing fifty manufacturing plants, be capitalized at fifty million dollars and employing 50,000 workers, instead of being controlled by fifty millionaires, it would be controlled by 50,000 men. The

profits, instead of flowing into fifty pockets, would find its way to 50,000 pockets. Instead of fifty palaces and 50,000 tenements there would be 50,000 homes owned by the occupants. Instead of fifty centers of luxury, extravagance, and dazzling show there would be 50,000 firesides representing all the endearments of home, each one consuming the natural products of civilization and contributing to the various forms of society. Instead of fifty capitalists and 50,000 wage-earners, with all the depressing influences of servitude and poverty, there would be 50,000 master workmen, interested directly in what they do and sending out into the markets of the world goods manufactured under the reign of the best possible methods of concentrated effort.



They helped every one his neighbor; and every one said to his brother: Be of good courage.—ISAIAH.

A toil that gains with what it yields  
And scatters to its own increase,  
And hears, while sowing outward fields,  
The harvest-song of inward peace.—WHITTIER.

All that society can do it ought to do . . . to give every man, to the extent of our power, full, fair, and free opportunity so to exercise all his moral, intellectual, physical, and spiritual energies that he may, without let or hindrance, be able to do his duty in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call him.—LORD SHAFTESBURY.

The man who is in danger of want, or even in dread of want, is not a free man; and the country which does not assure him the means of livelihood is not a free country, though it may be the freest of all free countries. In other words, liberty and poverty are incompatible.—WILLIAM D. HOWELLS.

The finest fruit earth holds up to its Maker is a man.—HUMBOLDT.

Every human being must have some object to engage his attention, excite his wishes, and rouse him to action, or he sinks, a prey to listlessness. For want of proper occupations see strenuous idleness resorting to a thousand expedients—the race-course, the bottle, or the gaming table, the frivolities of fashion, the debasements of sensuality, the petty contentions of envy, the grovelling pursuits of avarice, and all the various distracting agitations of vice.—WILLIAM GASTON.

Liberty cannot long endure in a country where the tendency is to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few.—DANIEL WEBSTER.

Is there anything better in a state than that both men and women be rendered the very best? There is not.—PLATO.

## CHAPTER X.

## MORAL AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE.

WHAT would be the moral and social influence of a divide-up and start-even? Would the people be made better or worse?

Doubtless there are many really good people to be found who believe that the effect would be bad. Were the measure to become an issue in politics the assumed evil effects would, perhaps, be the most strongly pressed argument against its adoption. Many would claim that the drinking class would debauch the deeper; that prodigals would invade new fields of sin; that ignorance would be given a dangerous power; that improvidence and laziness would be encouraged; and that even if improvement were to follow it would last only for a season, and conditions would soon be as bad or worse than they are now. Thousands of well-meaning men and women would vehemently condemn such a proposition as impractical and detrimental to the common good. Many would claim that wealth would be transferred to strange and dangerous hands; that it would be simply sowing broadcast over the land the accumulations of generations of labor, economy, and thought; and that tricksters and dishonest schemers would manipulate the accompanying evolutions of business and reap a rich harvest. Some would predict that the final result would be confusion, general devastation, and social and moral chaos.

But none of these claims are supported by either history or facts.

The fact that a division of property would create new conditions and destroy many old and well-established customs of business and habits of society would arouse lamentations among the conservative. But the fact that an idea or measure is new is no argument against it, nor is it to be condemned because it, in turn, may be followed by con-

ditions as evil and vicious as those which it is intended to remove. That a new political party will grow as corrupt and useless as the old ones are, or that new political leaders will grow as servile to party and as foggy in statesmanship as present incumbents, are not good reasons why new parties should not be formed or new men elevated into office. That a new condition will breed new and even worse evils to be overcome in the future is no reason why it should not be brought about. Because a child will grow as old as its father is no argument against its birth. That another drought will come, more severe than that which exists, is no point against rain. On the contrary, the fact that political parties grow corrupt by age and politicians weak and venal by long experience makes it imperative that new principles be evolved and new men elected to official positions. The fact that conditions grow unfair and unjust makes a change absolutely necessary, just as the fact that a man grows old and must die makes it necessary that he be replaced by offspring, or the fact that the earth becomes dry and parched creates an imperative demand for successive rains.

The claim that any appreciable number of the people of the United States are incapable of becoming safe and desirable property owners is absolutely unwarranted. There is nothing, outside of religion, that may be as safely diffused among the people or which is as conducive to social and moral rectitude as the moderate ownership of property. For four thousands years history has been constantly teaching that concentrated wealth leads to national decay; that poverty leads to vice and dissipation; and that those who are neither rich nor poor are the chief bulwark of civilization.

During the reign of Solomon every man owned his home, and the people were peaceful and contented. "He had peace on all sides round about him; and Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon." This is surely a remarkable illustration of how man will respect and honor the practical application of wise government and the universal ownership of property.

There is not a spot in our nation, be it ever so crowded

or desolate, where a moderate possession of property should not prove a direct and genuine blessing. Such a condition is a part of the soul-life of a republican form of government. "Give me neither poverty nor riches," prayed the apostle. Either extreme is injurious. Safety rests in the happy medium, and this medium implies ownership. Property is the palladium of peace, usefulness, and power. For childhood to be deprived of its benefits is a crime against the Almighty; to get married without it is like starting from nowhere, protected by nothing, and aiming at a star; to grow old without it is to rob age of its evidence of virtue and wisdom and even reproach infinite care.

To assail the wisdom of a divide-up on the ground that the American people as a whole are unfit and unsafe to become property owners—that it would be dangerous to allow them a business or a competency because they are unable to appreciate and care for them—is to assail the Declaration of Independence, to ignore the principles of religion, and insult common sense. To teach such doctrines is to propagate anarchy.

A divide-up would neither injure society nor impair morals. And there is every reason for believing that it would be a great social and moral uplift, such as the world has never seen. Overwhelmingly true is it that the great middle class—those who are not rich and who yet own something—make the best and most loyal citizens. This class are the backbone of society, the truest defenders of the law, the safety-valve in politics, and the chief promoters of virtue and religion. From the firesides of this class of citizens go out the noblest and best types of manhood and womanhood into the world, and their influence is strong and constant for good. They add new vigor to physical and social life, they stimulate business and industry, and add pure blood and clear brain to the national character.

*A divide-up would be a direct specific for the curse of intemperance.* It would supply what all other temperance measures lack. It would destroy the nests in which intemperance is hatched and fostered. It would change the social environments of those who drink. It would obliterate the saloon with its temptations and bad associations.

It would stop drunkenness by removing the causes which produce it.

For many years the subject of intemperance has been widely and earnestly studied. In school, in church, and in politics it has held a conspicuous place. It has been by far the most liberally discussed subject upon the American platform. Temperance workers have been almost guilty of the sin of Ham in exposing his father Noah by publicly parading the hideous countenances, the ragged attire, and the wretched homes of their fathers and brothers who have fallen victims to wine. But the consumption of liquor constantly increases. In nearly every State the teaching of the evil effects of alcohol is compulsory in public schools, but the results of such instruction are scarcely visible. The country is being constantly flooded with temperance literature, but the drink curse, with all its attending evils, survives.

It is furthermore true that the victims of no habit so deeply deplore their bondage, and that to none is extended such honest sympathy. Temperance efforts have failed because the real root of the habit has not been reached. Temperance reformers have contented themselves with condemning the use of liquors as a beverage, denouncing the license system as a curse, and appealing to the conscience of the drunkard for his pledge and to the honor of the citizen for his vote. They have not followed the drink curse to its final analysis. Too much attention has been paid to the results of the drink habit—the cost in money, happiness, life, and character—and not enough attention given to the concrete reasons why men drink. When we see a man drunk we know the cause: he has swallowed some kind of liquor. This is self-evident to even a child. But when we see a man drinking liquor it is not so easy to tell why he does it. Yet the drinking of the dram is the result of a cause, just as certainly as the staggering gait and maudlin tongue. In fact, the drunkenness, the poverty, the crime and death chargeable to the saloon system are a secondary consideration to the more basic and concrete forces existing back of the drink habit itself. It is of far more importance to know where a drunkard came from than to learn where he is going. The vital point of

the temperance question is not the fact that over 1,000 boys and young men learn to drink and 100 drunkards die every day in the year, or that over 1,000,000,000 gallons of liquor are annually consumed at a cost of over \$1,000,000,000 to the people, or that on account of these things the land is filled with crime and shame, misery and want; but it is, *Why do men drink?* When this is discovered and the cause removed, it can be claimed that a temperance reform has at least commenced.

Every student and close observer knows that most liquor is drunk by two classes—the rich and the poor—and that the most dissipated class of all is the *propertyless wage-earners* of the nation. The further men are separated from the common level the greater their temptations become.

The reasons why the rich take to wine and luxury and other dissipations are apparent to all. Riches are deceitful, hardening to the heart, and deadening to the conscience. They admit men into a social-circle which is unrestricted in customs and unbridled in appetites. Riches carry, rather than lead, men into temptation, and force, rather than invite, them to habits of dissipation. It always has been so and perhaps always will be so.

But powerful as riches are as a tempter of mankind, poverty and wage-earning are close rivals. According to reliable observers, more than two-thirds of the liquor drunk is swallowed by wage-earners.

“Wage-earners spend \$700,000,000 annually for liquor in the United States.” Said Mr. Powderly, while at the head of the Knights of Labor: “A single county in Pennsylvania, so I am informed, spent in one year \$17,000,000 for drink. That county contains the largest industrial population, comparatively, of any in the State; \$11,000,000 of the \$17,000,000 comes from the pockets of working-men.”

The question arises, *Do men take to strong drink because they are wage-earners?* With certain qualifications this is undeniably true.

Twenty-five centuries ago it was said by one divinely inspired: “He that earneth wages, earneth wages to put it into a bag with holes,” and the same can be said with equal

truth to-day. The thousands of wage-earners who were employed in rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem had no more holes nor larger holes in their pockets than the wage-earners of modern times. For thirty years wage-earning has greatly increased in the United States, and parallel with it the consumption of liquor has increased and multiplied. The growth of no two things has been more closely related and uniform.

Wherever wages are paid in abundance the saloon seeks a license and its patronage is well-nigh assured.

It matters but little whether wages be high or low. Wherever irresponsible and propertyless wage-earning prevails the wages are turned into whisky, beer, and tobacco and into dissipations of every sort with a thoughtless avidity that is simply astounding. The forces of heredity, the impelling power of appetite, the allurements of companionship and social influences are not here overlooked. A thousand times no! But riches on the one hand and poverty and propertyless wage-earning on the other, as causes of the drink habit and other dissipations, surpass them all combined. A thousand times yes!

Wage-earning is preëminently the gigantic curse of the republic. As carried on it is only a substitute for chattel slavery. In some respects chattel slavery would be preferable, as the slave owners, representing the wealth of trusts, syndicates, and great industrial concerns, would then be responsible for the food, clothing, and shelter of those they would hold as property. Mankind should avoid wage-earning as it does a pestilence. The capable man who chooses a life of wage-earning rather than to be his own master commits a sin only surpassed by him who worships an idol instead of the true God.

To work for wages, to be a life-long hireling, is an unnatural thing to do. As citizens, men can choose their rulers and law makers and express their desires at the ballot-box, but as wage-earners in the realm of industry they are like aliens and dumb. They cannot choose their own masters, nor can they live the lives of free men. To legions of men, commencing a life of wage-earning means the surrender of their God-given talents and birthrights at the feet of capital and, leaving hope and ambition behind,

entering the great realm of industry to toil, and sweat, and merely exist, and die a martyr to the tyranny of mammonism—a despotism saturated with selfish greed and that “will be rich,” and to reach its goal is willing “to drown men in destruction and perdition.”

Man's normal sphere is a high one. His aspirations and heart, his powers and ambitions need cultivating, not crushing. His talents are to be doubled, not diminished or buried. The man in men requires exercise and an object and aim. The higher qualities of mind and character need even more than exercise and opportunity: they require responsibility to develop and perfect their beauty and strength. Says Dr. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education: “The personal conviction of responsibility lies at the basis of all truly moral actions.” When men are denied natural responsibilities and turned into mere automatic machines, as millions of wage-earners are, development in the higher and broader sense is impossible. When these higher attributes are destroyed men are dethroned; and thus weakened they become a prey to all that is base and corrupt. With ambition checked and hopes blighted men sell themselves in the industrial markets—so much manual force for so much money—and when pay-day comes, being victims to manhood's defeat, they hurry to the saloon and to the various haunts of dissipation, to gratify their perverted tastes and drown the stinging sense of despair.

It is the duty of every man to be an integer among his fellow-men, and he who willingly steps down from this God-intended level sells his birthright. The legitimate fruits of a man's talent and strength belong to himself and his family. To allow capital to step in and manipulate muscle, and mind, and strength, and life, in its own interests and claim all the profits outside of a stinted and meager support is to permit deliberate and wholesale robbery.

God intended that men should profit by what they do; that their talents and labor only should measure or limit their success; and that each should receive a commendable and just reward, not wages, for his work and energy. The hireling is inevitably a subordinate, and his life is subject

to compromise. Even in the Ten Commandments he is classified with cattle. Wages is the penalty for sin, the currency of submission and slavery, the coin of perdition. It is the duty of a republic to make wage-earning the exception, and not the rule and characteristic of its industrial life.

Capital and labor must become a unit and not remain divergent interests. But there is no compatibility except where the hand that toils and the pocket that receives the profits belong to one and the same man. There have been strong efforts made to reconcile employers and the employed. But there is no honorable ground of compromise. It can never be done until the wage-earner is willing to insult Heaven by taking all that is useful in talent, precious in intellect, and divine in manhood, and tie it up in a napkin and return it to his Maker.

As a potent remedy for intemperance and other dissipating habits nothing could be more direct and radical than a divide-up of property. It would distribute the vast accumulations of riches, remove the temptations both of riches and poverty, give to every one an average possession, impose upon each a share of responsibility, force every one into exercise, encourage a definite purpose in each life, and, above all, give to each worker a direct home and money interest in the chosen pursuit of life.

*A divide-up would redeem many who are now vicious and lawless.* Men can be found who are parasites upon the body social, political, and industrial. They are looked upon as lazy, shiftless, and a menace to all that is progressive and valuable. Some of these men are depraved within and without. Among their number are loafers, tramps, dead-beats, and beggars. They are filthy in habit, begrimed in body, and polluted in mind. Their blood is contaminated by bad ancestry, their bodies are weakened by depraved environments, and their sensibilities are blunted and perverse. If the earth were to open and swallow them it would seem that the ends of mercy had been served.

Many of this class never possessed anything, and they apparently do not know how to earn, use, or save anything or even to protect their own interests.

But in America this class is not large and in a divide-up

would play an insignificant part. Suppose there are 1,000,000 persons in all who would be unworthy of what they would receive—and this is an extremely large estimate. We are spending what would be their share in a divide-up for liquor every year. Suppose we have 200,000 prostitutes in the nation. We are spending what would be their allotment in a general divide every three months for tobacco. Suppose there are 100,000 tramps in the country. We have one citizen who could give to each one of them \$1,000 and still be a millionaire many times over.

It is to be remembered in this connection that there is a pressing demand that some measure be adopted to lessen the injury wrought by our criminal class. Criminals have become a burden not easily endured. Regarding our criminals, Charles Dudley Warner recently said: "We could better afford to take all these peoples, who are limited in number, and board them for life at the St. Denis Hotel at five dollars a day and make money at it." If this be true, what a saving it would be to give to each a share in a divide-up, even if only one-half reformed in consequence of their new environments? It must be conceded that these classes of people, above all others, need looking after. They have peculiar claims upon the more fortunate. Most of them are the result of vicious conditions for which they are not responsible. They are victims, rather than perpetrators, of wrong and disorder. It is the imperative duty of the State and nation to lift them from their degradation and indolence. They are still men and women, and entitled to all the ennobling influences of a Christian civilization. There remains in the souls of most of them a spark of the divine, that only needs rekindling and feeding to grow into a flame.

It is a matter worthy of concern that many of those who are among the undesirable class are becoming the fathers and mothers of more children, proportionately considered, than more fortunate and desirable citizens.

The human race is so constituted that it will multiply more rapidly in filth, ignorance, and poverty than under more refined and desirable conditions. The birth-rate in the slum district of a large city has been known to exceed by over 50 per cent. that of more refined and less crowded

localities. In one district in New York City there were not long since "986 persons to each acre, and out of a population of 255,033 persons in this overcrowded section, only 306 had access to a bath-tub." What was here found on a large scale is to be found, only less in extent, in every city in the Union. The birth-rate in such localities is often enormous, and the children of such parentage are inevitably biased and bent. They easily become paupers, criminals, and degenerates. There are already over 700,000 defectives in our nation, and our various penal institutions and asylums are greatly overcrowded. The care and support of defectives and the expense of protecting life and property against the lawless and criminal class are becoming a heavy burden on taxation and charity.

Patriotism and statesmanship have no nobler or more imperative mission than to arouse the depressed and depraved from the apathy and abandon into which they have fallen. The only practical and sensible method is to break up and destroy the slums and haunts of poverty where sin and dissipation have been bred and brooded. A divide-up would do this. The dingy and dirty hovels would be forsaken, and homes where sunshine, and water, and fresh air, and room were plentiful would be found. By giving to each of these persons a share in a general divide-up a new life would be opened up at once before them.

Mr. Booth Tucker, whose experience makes his opinions authoritative, says: "Four-fifths of the miserable people of our city slums would be born again, scripturally speaking, under the influence of pure air, good food, perfect freedom, systematic labor, and the hope of ultimately owning something of their own." When Christ was upon earth the common people heard Him gladly—the lame, the halt, the blind, the leper, the prodigal, the harlot; and the moral exiles of the slums will live anew when the light and liberty of love rescues them from the thralldom into which they have fallen. None would respond more quickly to practical help. The majority of them would arouse from their lethargy and become useful, desirable citizens. To thousands it would be a veritable foretaste of heaven.

*The benefits that would accrue to children would be incalculable.* The ragged, ill-fed, and neglected children

that swarm in homes where poverty and ignorance now prevail would, more than their parents, profit by the change. It would not only place each in a new environment, but school, church, and social advantage would be within reach of all. They would be born into a new realm.

In an article in *The Arena* for June, 1897, Professor Hull, of Swarthmore College, says that "90,000 children have been sent from New York and Philadelphia to live in private homes throughout the country by societies organized for the purpose," and that according to careful records of each case "85 per cent. of these have turned out well and only 2 per cent. have grown into evil men." It is claimed that there are all the time more than 100,000 laboring children in New York City. During the past forty years more than 200,000 homeless boys and girls have received supper, bath, and shelter free in the various lodging-houses of the city. In every large city such children exist in surprising numbers.

The history of Australia is an illustration of what will be accomplished by giving an opportunity to poor and destitute children. According to the *Scientific American*, during the year 1849 the enormous number of 14,000 pauper boys and girls of England and Ireland were transported to the island of Australia. And if 14,000 were sent during one year, it is reasonable to suppose that other years furnished a large number. In addition, Australia was for years the migrating point for a large number of criminals. It is interesting to note what the history of Australia has been, subjected to such influence. Of its history, beginning two years after the colonization of these pauper children, *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* says: "Since 1851 Australia has been advancing in all departments of material well-being at a rate surpassing that of any other country on the globe. Since 1870 its railroads and telegraphs have been increasing at a ratio, in relation to its population, far exceeding that of the United States. Its telegraphic traffic is enormous, relatively considered being double that of Great Britain."

What children need most is not philanthropy and charity in the form of foundling asylums, orphanages, children's homes, and institutional schools, but rather "a home

with a small h," and such would be within reach of children if they represented a property value. Well-regulated institutions serve a noble purpose in caring for the afflicted and defective, but to children normal in mind and body there is no successful substitute for the home and fireside. Says the eminent William Booth, whose experience is unsurpassed: "A child brought up in an institution is too often only half human, having never known a mother's love and a father's care." And of those without any home at all he says: "It is the dishomed multitude, nomadic and hungry from birth, with hereditary weakness of body and hereditary faults of character. Yet it is idle to hope to mend matters by taking the children and bundling them in barracks." What a mine of untold wealth is now going to waste or being coined into counterfeit citizenship in the neglected childhood of the nation! What a wise stroke of statesmanship it would be to give all these children a chance to grow and develop under influences where they would learn to honor and dignify our nation and its institutions!

The same facts which apply to depraved men and neglected children apply with no less force to *fallen women*. When sin and shame assail womanhood and rob it of its virtue, all human sympathy, it would seem, is forever repulsed.

While more than all else fallen woman is a victim, yet, traduced to its ruin and abandoned in its shame, it rivals the saloon as a social and moral evil in the land.

Few are the women that seek their own shame. Says Mrs. Charlton, of Chicago, an authority upon the subject: "Of the 230,000 erring girls in this land, three-fourths of them have been snared and trapped, bought and sold." "To supply the demands of passion in men," says J. B. Wetty, "one hundred families must give up a daughter apiece every day in the round year." Says an author who studied the subject for many years: "Women are ruined, in a great proportion of cases, from a mere exaggeration and perversion of the best qualities of a woman's heart. They yield to desires in which they do not share from a weak generosity which cannot refuse anything to the passionate entreaties of the man they love. There is in the

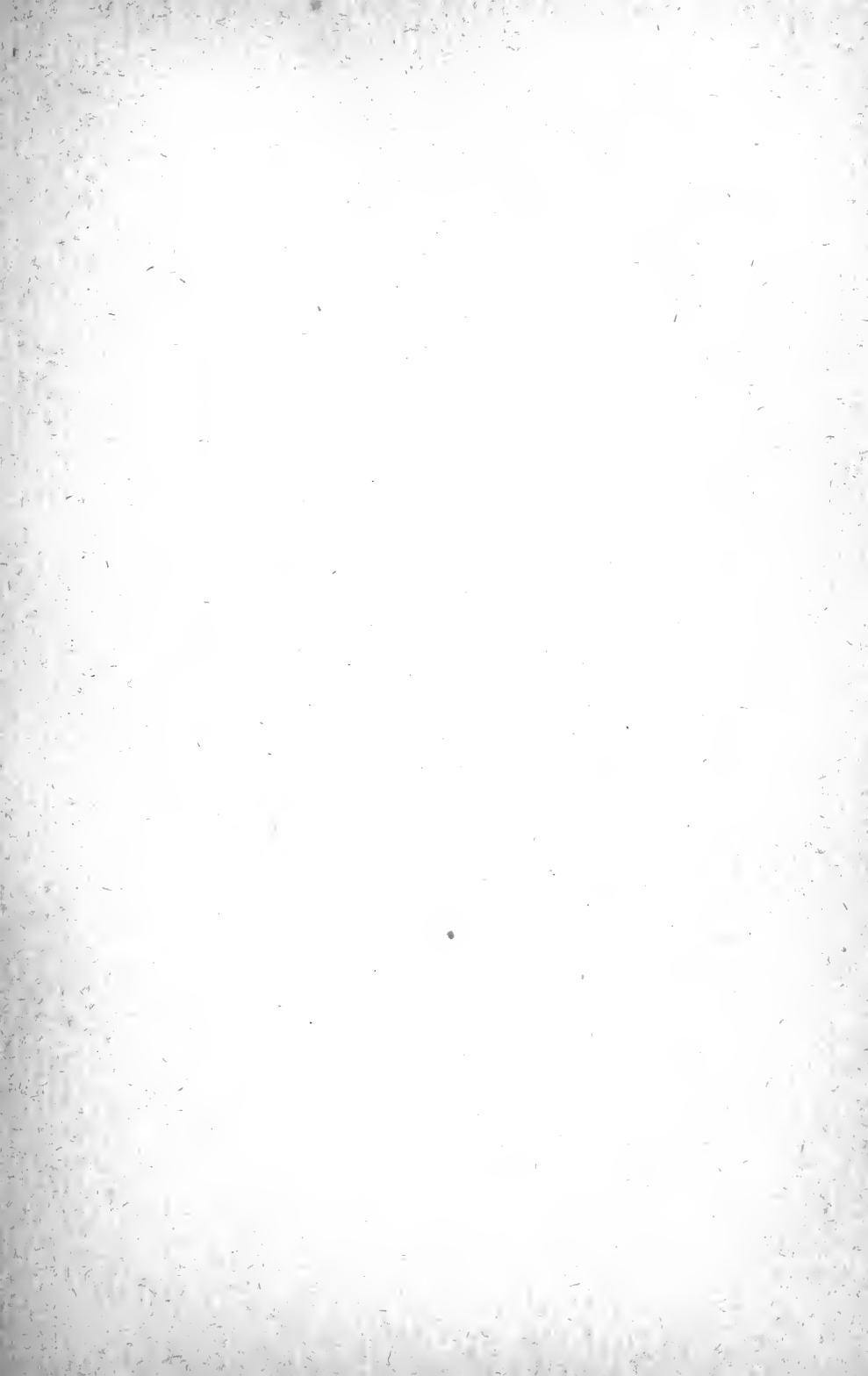
warm, fond heart of woman a strange and sublime unselfishness, a positive love for self-sacrifice, an active desire to show her affection by giving up to those who have won it something she holds sacred and dear." This is no romantic or over-colored picture. Those who deem it so have not measured the angelic sympathies and affections of womanhood. He who cannot appreciate these qualities in woman is unworthy of her influence. Making all due allowance for those who seem to be born inherently depraved, it remains true that through no channel does so much that is innocent, precious, and beautiful flow down to ruin as goes down through the cruel rapids of woman's shame.

Why should not these women be lifted from their degradation? Thousands—aye, the most of them—ply their vocation from necessity rather than choice. They deplore, soul-deep, the fetters and bondage under which they live. During their thoughtful moments the lost souls in perdition are not more miserable. A large percentage of our fallen women are either feeble in mind or imbecile in morals, and their sin is the transgression of others rather than their own. Common justice and common instinct demand that we search through the alleyways and the more pretentious seclusions where their polluted but pitiful bodies hide in neglected remorse, and give to each a home and a chance to live a life of virtue and usefulness. The most of them would reform if an unobstructed pathway were opened up before them. And by uprooting the brothel the ruin of legions of young men would be averted, as outraged virtue would cease to recoil.

It is to be remembered that the morally and socially undesirable, among both men and women as a class are what they are because the world has conspired against them. The elements of self-help and moral courage were lacking in their character, and they have simply gone with the tide. They required help from those stronger and firmer than themselves, and failing to receive it when needing it most, they became stranded. They are simply the *débris* of selfish social and political systems.

In a division of property it is presumed that the greatest care would be exercised to give to each exactly the best thing for him or her. Natural abilities and affinities, or

the lack of them, should be considered. As far as possible, every life should be placed in harmony with its possessions. In this way a divide-up could be made a factor, almost infinite in power, for the prevention of vice, intemperance, crime, and immorality. Social and moral growth could be made possible. That ideal condition would, in a measure, be secured in which it is easy to do right and difficult to do wrong.



"If there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things."

"New occasions teach new duties;  
Time makes ancient good uncouth;  
They must upward and onward  
Who would keep abreast of truth."

A statesman may do much for commerce; most by leaving it alone. A river never flows so smoothly as when it follows its own course, without aid or check. Let it make its own bed; it can do so better than you can.—CHARLES J. HARE.

I should no more dread that all the springs and rivers should be exhausted than that money should abandon a kingdom where there are people and industry.—HUME.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.—WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

When the wage-earners of this land lose hope, when the star goes out—after that, anarchy or a czar.—BENJAMIN HARRISON.

This should be thy work: to improve conditions of peace, to spare the lowly, and to overthrow the proud.—VIRGIL.

The Government lacks in dignity when it puts itself in a position where it is either a mendicant asking aid from private citizens or a weakling at their mercy.—COMPTROLLER ECKLES.

One thing ought to be aimed at by all men: that the interest of each individually and of all collectively should be the same; for if each should grasp at his individual interest all human society would be dissolved.—CICERO.

## CHAPTER XI.

## PRESENT POLITICAL ISSUES.

THE political field is crowded with issues. Measures representing almost every phase of economics have their advocates and champions. That a remedy is needed to remove industrial and financial depression; to force an adequate supply of money into circulation; to enable all to earn a livelihood and pay their debts; to start and keep busy the various forms of enterprise; to harmonize extremes and conflicting interests; to restore confidence, contentment, and prosperity among the people, is a universal belief.

That a crisis of some kind is rapidly approaching in the history of our nation few close observers will deny. That this crisis will be chiefly political is an accepted fact. The star of progress is leading the public eye in the paths of public concern. Forward and determined action in the near future is inevitable.

All legitimate public questions bear a vital relation to each other. An issue, like a law, to be worthy of the name must be an essential part of a perfect whole. One issue may satisfy a political hobby-rider, but true statesmanship must consider all worthy questions. It is impossible to properly appreciate or wisely discuss any political measure unless other contemporary and related measures are also considered. National progress, like physical growth, must be characterized by the harmonious action of separate yet vitally related parts.

Among the more prominent measures at present discussed by political parties and political economists are the following:

The tariff; the financial question; the kind of money; bimetallism; international bimetallism; the amount of money needed; the temperance question; the government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, mines and other mo-

nopolies; trusts and monopolies; immigration; the initiative and referendum; an honest election.

#### THE TARIFF.

A tariff is levied upon foreign goods coming to our shores for two purposes:

1. To secure revenue to pay the running expenses of the Government.

2. To protect American manufacturers, growers, and laborers by making the tariff so high as to lessen or entirely prevent the importation of such commodities as are manufactured or grown in our own country.

When the importation of goods is lessened the tariff is called "protective;" when it is prevented entirely the tariff is "prohibitory."

For a number of national campaigns the tariff was the chief issue; and although at each election the policy was reversed and each party, while in power, as far as possible enforced the policy set forth in its platforms, yet at no time have the results on either side met the expectations of the people.

The channels of business are as wide as the earth and as deep as the seas, and the real benefits to be derived from a tariff are transient and limited.

The agitation of the tariff question during political campaigns and its discussion in Congress have been more injurious to business, no doubt, than would have been the continued settled policy of either side. Business, by surviving the ordeal, has proven itself to have a life invincible to political assaults.

It is the policy of all parties to depend upon tariff duties for revenue to support the Government; yet in principle this policy is radically wrong. All tariff should be incidental. There should be other sources of revenue than that of levying a tax upon the importation of commodities the manufacture of which employs handicraft in foreign lands.

On the other hand, if goods are produced in foreign lands that cannot be produced here and these goods are a neces-

sity to our people, there is no reason why a tariff should be levied upon them at all when they come to our shores. In other words, the tariff should be entirely divorced from the governmental expenses, the salaries of politicians, and every other financial consideration, either actual or imaginary. The subject should be discussed and treated strictly as a business question. Then the tariff could be lowered, or raised, or abolished without conflicting interests interposing. It is not good statesmanship to handicap business, either one way or the other, in order to secure money to pay political bills.

*America is preëminently a business country.* Indeed, an increase of business is an essential characteristic of human progress. Business in its broadest sense means supply and demand, production and consumption, buying and selling, carrying and bringing, inventing, manufacturing, and exchanging—"living and letting live."

*Business is the life of civilization.* It is business that feeds, clothes, and shelters humanity. It takes the products of our labor and energy and carries them into the markets of the world. No matter how far these products must travel before they find a buyer, business, if unmolested, will carry them to the Orient, to the tropics, to the frozen zones, or to the half savage isles of the seas. On the other hand, no matter what our wants or our desires may be, business, if given permission, will search the wide world over to find that which we crave and, with the willingness of a faithful servant, lay it at our feet.

Business, then, is of first importance. If a high tariff is the best thing for business it should be a law. If a low tariff or free trade is best for business it should be adopted at once. A tariff for the sake of governmental revenue, regardless of the claims of business, should not be entertained for a single moment.

Business is not only an essential factor in civilization, but it requires channels in which to operate. Rivers and railroads, harbors and oceans, steam and electricity are all instruments to facilitate business intercourse. Our banking system and our postal system are institutions to make business transactions easy. As all machinery must be kept well oiled, so it is that millions of money are annually

spent in order that business may be transacted smoothly, quickly, and profitably.

It must be admitted that a tariff of any sort interferes with business, and that in itself it is objectionable. At best it is only a remedy and a corrective. It is to be looked upon as the lesser of two evils.

Many believe that a closely adjusted tariff is necessary to prevent American manufacturers from imposing upon the people, that if the tariff is placed high employers will press wages down and prices up and thus reap a wide margin of profit. It is a widely diffused impression that it is wise to turn the tariff into a sort of whip to be held over the backs of manufacturers to keep them from being dishonest and from accumulating riches too rapidly. This is a gross perversion of the functions of a tariff, and one that has caused great mischief. There should be direct and radical remedies to prevent dishonest employers from grinding down the wages of help or imposing upon the people. It is only a cowardly evasion of justice to expect a tariff to protect the laboring man and the public against the caprice and cunning of greed.

To act as a protective factor is the only legitimate function of a tariff. And to protect the laboring man it must prohibit. If the tariff is so adjusted that foreign goods continue to come to our shores, the inevitable result is that the American laborer is forced into idleness. Consumers cannot use both foreign and American made hats, or cloth, or silk, or buttons, or any other commodity. Every article that comes lessens home production just that much.

But many think that by having a rather high tariff we would allow a few goods to come in, simply enough to pay our government expenses, and workingmen would get better pay for making the remainder. Politicians have reduced this theory to almost a hair-splitting science. But here, too, is a great injustice to the workingman. He may get fair wages, but is kept in idleness much of the time. This is becoming the lot of legions of American workmen. To work for full wages on half time is relatively worse than working full time on half wages. Under present conditions this threatens to become a national and enslaving curse. If the tariff were placed so high that the

goods would not come here at all the workingman would be entitled to full wages; and if the markets were sufficient he would work full time. But even here it is to be remembered that the market depends upon business and not upon tariff, and that the market is the true source of the laboring man's hope.

While a protective tariff has become the dominating policy in the United States, the fact should not be lost sight of that of itself it impedes business in the broadest and world-wide sense.

If we could double our exports by allowing a double amount of imports from every nation on the globe, it would be of great advantage to us. It is an axiom of business that "all transactions are in some way reciprocated." If this be true there is not much danger in encouraging free intercourse between nations in matters of business, as in the end the two accounts will practically balance each other.

Were all barriers to business obliterated, tariffs included, our nation would have but little to fear. Unlimited resources, inventive genius, and progressive enterprise have made the United States the foremost nation on the globe. We are headquarters for the implements and products of civilization. We should attract the world to our shores for supplies. No country has such vantage-ground. We are already sending far more to other countries than we are importing in return. We are exchanging the products of genius, skill, brains, and enterprise for those of endurance, muscle, toil, and servitude. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, we exported \$1,227,023,302 worth of products to foreign lands and imported \$697,148,489 worth in return. During the past year our exports have been over \$2,000,000,000 in value, and the difference in imports and exports are tremendously in our favor. Our exports are equal to the annual income of 3,000,000 workmen. It is an interest far too great and far too promising to be curtailed or crippled by a tariff, unless it mean something more than consideration of revenue.

#### THE MONEY QUESTION.

The money question has become a prominent issue in our national politics.

The chief points of controversy are:

1. The kind of money that shall be used.
2. The financial system that shall regulate its use.
3. The amount of money required.

*The Kind of Money.*—Regarding the kind of money that shall be used, opinions widely differ. The chief point of difference is as to whether or not it is necessary that the substance of which money is made have an intrinsic value. One side contends that this is an absolute requirement, while the opposite side holds that money is an instrument of law, and that a piece of paper or other material upon which the Government has placed its official seal becomes of value regardless of its own nature. This is the chief essential point of the entire money question.

Is it necessary that money have an intrinsic value?

Emphatically, No!

If it is required that money have an intrinsic value, it is also necessary that some substance be found that is exactly suited for money and for little else; that it exist in sufficient quantities to supply the demand for money and yet not be subject to private speculation; that its value remain uniform; and that it stand use without becoming worn.

Gold and silver are both useful in commerce. The supply of either is entirely uncertain. They are both subject to intense speculation. They are constantly changing in intrinsic value. Both suffer greatly through wear. They are both entirely unfit as a basis of the financial system of a great nation. Were actual prosperity to universally prevail, all the gold supply of our continent would soon be absorbed in the manufacture of personal and domestic valuables. According to the *Scientific American*, the value of gold and silver in manufactured articles in 1850 was over \$165,000,000, or more than \$7 for each person in the nation. Since the above date our per capita wealth has been increased fourfold. If the need of jewelry and valuables made of precious metals has increased accordingly, it would require over \$2,000,000,000 worth of the two metals to meet the demand. This would bring into the commercial markets our entire supply, leaving little or none for money. The world's annual output of gold is nearly \$300,000,000, and under present conditions, when

the great majority of the people are poor, nearly one-half of the output is used in arts and commerce. It is claimed that "the medals, vessels, and other objects preserved in the Vatican at Rome would make more gold money than the whole of the present European circulation." King David collected over \$2,000,000,000 worth of gold for the Temple and for the national treasury, and it was almost as plentiful in Jerusalem as stones.

Even were gold and silver perfectly suited to be used as money, they should not, either singly or combined, be made the legal standard of value. The production of both metals has been too spasmodic and uncertain to admit of such with safety. During 1887 the output of the famous Comstock mine was \$37,062,252. During this year more of value was taken from twelve insignificant-looking holes in the mountain side than the corn crop of all the corn fields of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota combined.

A cubic foot of gold weighs over 19,000 ounces and is worth nearly \$400,000 as money at the mints. If one of our Western settlers were to discover that his quarter-section farm was so rich in gold that when brought to the surface it would be equal to five inches of the precious metal over the entire one hundred and sixty acres, it would, when coined into money, have a purchasing power almost without limit. Such a man could buy all property, both personal and real, on our continent, including Canada and South America. He could cross the ocean and purchase England, Ireland, and the continent of Europe. He could then buy China, Japan, and all Asia and Africa. Still his purse would be full. He could search the seas and buy all the islands. The whole earth would be his. His purse would still be rich in gold. Not one-half of his money would be absorbed. He would still have more money than all the rest of the world. And yet the money kings of the world are zealously striving to make it the unchangeable organic law of the nations that 25.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine, "shall be worth one dollar," and that this dollar shall be the only basis upon which the value of money shall rest. This law is now a national statute, notwithstanding the fact that gold dollars are so unpopular that **not**

one has been coined in several years, and that the larger coins are so undesirable for general use as money that they have been relegated to bank and treasury vaults and paper money is being used in their stead. It would seem that Omnipotent Wisdom, in anticipation of the present age of mammonism, secreted the precious metals within the bowels of the earth and is determined to hold them there and yield them up only to great toil and labor until mankind has become wise enough to appropriate them to the purposes for which they were intended.

Our cultivated civilization could appreciatingly utilize in other ways than as money every grain of gold we have or will ever find, and profit by its use. That, on account of panics and hard times, due largely to legislation in favor of a gold standard, the people should not only flood the pawn shops with jewelry, but take \$4,035,710 worth of personal adornments to the mints to be coined into money, as was done in 1891, is a reproach, as disgraceful as it is stigmatizing, to our national law-makers. The true mission of gold is to be not money, but a civilizing factor. It was not used as money in the world's early history. It is the emblem of purity and nobility. In the home and on the person it is conducive to refinement and strength of character. It is a prostitution of the proper use of gold to make it the "money of the world." It should adorn every person and be found in every home. Of it, if possible, should be made the chalice of every church. In a legion of ways could it profitably serve mankind. From moral, ethical, and social standpoints, a money system which requires that a country's gold be coined and deposited in treasury vaults to protect the national credit is a heresy akin to blasphemy. Such a proceeding is as useless and senseless as was the setting up of the golden calf for worship in the wilderness of sin.

On the other hand, when money does not have an intrinsic value, its value depends upon the responsibility back of the authority that has placed its official stamp and seal upon its face. If there is nothing back of the official seal the money, of course, is worthless. If behind the obligations made upon the face of money rest the wealth, integrity, and sovereignty of the nation, then it represents more than an intrinsic value.

Under our present system a gold certificate is worth 25.8 grains of coin gold, made in the form of a disk called a dollar, stamped to prevent counterfeiting. A silver certificate is worth 412.5 grains of coin silver in the form of a stamped disk. These disks, or metal dollars, will be given in exchange at the Treasury Department for all certificates, such as are in general circulation, that any one is disposed to bring. If the disk, or dollar, be taken back again the Treasury Department will give a certificate in exchange. Beyond this the Government is in no way responsible. To swap dollars with the people is all the risk the Government assumes.

But if it be true that the wealth of the nation—its lands and rivers, its cities and commerce, its mines and forests—is behind the money which is issued directly by the Government, it surely represents an enormous value. Hon. James G. Blaine, in 1864, holding a greenback up before an audience, said: "What is this? A dollar. And it is a good dollar—good for the farmer, the mechanic, the merchant, the sailor, everybody. What makes it a dollar? Because every dollar's worth of property in the United States is behind it, and the life's blood of every true and loyal American citizen is behind it. And this makes it a good dollar."

If it be true that a gold or silver certificate is worth only so many grains of stamped metal of fluctuating value, and that each note issued by the Government directly has behind it eighty billions of wealth, the relative stability of the two is easily appreciated.

The very fact that gold and silver coin is kept locked up in vaults, and paper money, representing it, must be printed and sent out for circulation, is positive proof that paper money is preferred by the people.

While the claim is strongly urged that "no financial basis is sound that does not provide for a redemption of currency in the money of the world," it remains true that experience has not supported this doctrine. The city of Venice, beginning with the year 1171, used paper money for over six hundred years. Its paper money was good in every civilized country in the world, and the little republic for six centuries was "the pride and glory of Italy." Paper money

was issued in Pennsylvania in 1739, "resting wholly upon the credit of the Commonwealth," and continued for a period of many years. Of this period Benjamin Franklin said: "There was peace in all her borders. A more happy and prosperous population could not, perhaps, be found on this globe. Not one dollar was ever at a discount for coin. It was received for taxes. It was a currency without cost."

Says the *Scientific American*: "William Pitt, under a system of paper money, carried the British nation through thirty years of war and left it richer than he found it; while Sir Robert Peel, whose system was a gold standard, carried the British nation through thirty years of peace and left it poorer, taking the condition of the people as a test, than he found it."

The "Encyclopædia Britannica" states as a consensus of authoritative opinions: "The theory of intrinsic value of money has been abandoned by the best writers and thinkers. Coin is not a safe basis. The base is too small." Said Henry Clay: "Whatever a government agrees to receive in payment of the public dues as a medium of circulation is money, no matter what its form may be."

At present the value of money is based upon the value of gold. The value of gold, however, is an arbitrary one, the result of legislative enactments in its favor. Silver occupies a subordinate position as money. The price of gold being fixed by law, the value remains uniform; while silver is exposed, like potatoes, corn, or cotton, to commercial fluctuations.

Our money system, in short, is: (1) A dollar shall be the unit of value; (2) 25.8 grains of coin gold shall be worth a dollar at the mints; (3) gold shall be the standard or legal money.

An error quite common is to confound the term "*unit*" of value with "*standard*" of value.

By "*unit*" of value is meant that particular unit of money to which all other units or parts of units must conform. The *dollar*, regardless of the material of which it is composed, is our unit of value. A dollar does not mean a fixed quantity of gold or silver, but it means a *unit* equivalent to ten dimes or one hundred cents. The *dollar* is to money what the bushel is to dry measure, the gallon to liquid

measure, or the yard-stick to the dry goods store. That money have a unit of value is as essential as that it have a name. Had gold and silver never been discovered money would have been necessary; and the dollar as we have it to-day would doubtless have been the unit of value.

A "standard" of value, as the term is commonly used, means an entirely different thing. It is the result of legislation whereby a certain amount of some metal or other substance is declared worth a dollar. These dollars, representing the desired amount of the specified substance, are made the legal or "standard" money in business transactions. In short, it is legislative interference in behalf of some metal or metals in the government manufacture of money. If gold be the favored substance, gold becomes the standard of value; and all money must bear a legal relation to gold. The same fact applies to silver. If both metals are included the union constitutes "bimetallism."

The question arises: "*Is a 'standard' of value necessary?*" If gold, silver, or both be adopted as a standard, it is inevitable that all financial transactions, all business enterprises, and all money affairs must at once be adjusted to this standard. As soon as a standard is adopted the chosen metal gradually becomes a dominating factor in finance and commerce. The minerals of the mines and the bullion of the mints become more closely related to prosperity and plenty than the muscle and brain of man. Under our present standard a large output of gold is almost as necessary to the welfare of the people as a plentiful harvest. A panic of gold would be nearly as disastrous and make people starve almost as surely as a panic of bread.

To claim that a standard of value is necessary is preposterous. To so claim is to assert that should our supply of gold and silver cease and the present supply become exhausted in the arts, money would cease to exist and the people be doomed to financial barbarism. Let no man be so cruelly blind as to conceive the notion that our prosperity and progress are dependent upon either gold or silver or both together. It is the mission of civilization to make servants, not masters, of these things, no matter how intrinsically precious they may be. Rather than that we should become their slaves, it were far better that they be

again buried in the Western hills, as when the red man and the buffalo trampled them under foot four centuries ago.

The idea that our monetary system must rest upon a metal basis, a system inviting all the evils of greed and gain, is a sophistry as foolish as it is infamous. And for legislative powers to enslave the people by narrowing our whole monetary system to the single substance, gold, a metal which at best is controlled by private interests and which may become the weapon of tyranny in the hands of a very few, is a species of treason against which every loyal citizen should persistently contend. *Both gold and silver should be coined and used as money, but neither one nor both together should be the standard money of the nation.*

The question also arises: "Is it within the powers of legislation to give a value to money?" A campaign expression, widely quoted, is: "An honest dollar, worth one hundred cents everywhere, cannot be coined out of fifty-three cents' worth of silver plus a legislative fiat." This is true or it is not true. If it be true of silver it is also true of gold; and if so, a quantity of gold of unknown value "plus a legislative fiat" will not make a dollar. But it does. For many years 25.8 grains of coin gold, of unknown and ever-changing intrinsic value, through "legislative fiat" have been kept worth exactly a dollar. Gold coin is "fiat" money. So would "legislative fiat" make  $371\frac{1}{4}$  grains of silver worth a dollar. *So would it make a piece of paper worth a dollar.* In other words, all money, whether of metal or paper, is the product of "legislative fiat." The intrinsic value of the metal of which money is composed is entirely incidental and foreign to the principle involved.

It is the plain and imperative duty of the Government to properly recognize the monetary uses of both metals, but to grant no undue favors to either.

Both gold and silver, to a limited extent, make desirable money, but they both should stand on their own merits. They are essentially commercial commodities. Each if left to itself possesses an intrinsic value. They both are useful for purposes other than money. The Government should not add to nor depreciate the value of either metal. Its duty is simply to recognize both metals, coin both as needed,

and treat both precisely the same. Neither one nor both of them together can claim any right to legislative favor. If 25.8 grains of coin gold or  $371\frac{1}{4}$  grains of silver when made into a dollar are intrinsically worth one hundred cents, and if the people desire to handle that kind of money, they need no governmental aid to either raise, lower, or fix their real worth.

Under present conditions gold mining is as much a private industry as farming, and the future output is as uncertain as the Delaware peach crop or the prospects of the Kansas grasshopper.

Gold is fickle and deceptive. The production of nothing has been more capricious or spasmodic. To legalize it as the sole basis of our financial system is to expose the nation to the vicissitudes of luck, to the domination of private interests, and to the cunning of professional manipulators. In 1869 two capitalists cornered gold, created a panic, jeopardized a legion of fortunes, and pocketed \$11,000,000 in less than a week. And there are combinations of men to-day who could if they would and would if they dared corner gold again, deplete the Treasury, paralyze business, and bring financial ruin to thousands of homes.

Within a few years gold may be a relic of the past, or it may be so plentiful as to rival copper or brass in household utility. Chemists tell us that the oceans contain 60,000,000,000 tons of gold. This is equal to \$25,000,000 worth to every man, woman, and child now living on the earth—enough to build a golden palace for every family in the world and to pave the streets with pure gold, thus transforming the earth into a veritable New Jerusalem. When God said, "Thy silver is mine and thy gold is mine," it implied that they hold a prominent place in the world's economy and that they have a mission as yet unconceived in the future history of mankind.

*There are also many reasons why the Government should refuse to issue gold and silver certificates.* This is done, as every one knows, because the people prefer paper money to coin. Except for international purposes or upon special occasions, gold and silver are desirable as money only when they enter into actual circulation. It is not sound business policy to buy gold and silver and after it is coined issue

paper certificates for circulation and store the metal away in treasury vaults. If no gold and silver certificates were issued, it would then be learned how little modern civilization appreciates the bulk, weight, and inconvenience of traditional coin.

But the Government requires an official money of its own, and an adequate supply should be issued directly from the United States Treasury. *This money should recognize no standard but that which the sovereignty and honor of the nation supplies.* It should be a full legal tender for all debts, both public and private, at all times and everywhere.

Under such a system the money of the country would be gold and silver coin on the one hand and paper money issued directly by the Government on the other. It would soon be learned that the people have an implicit and unbounded confidence in the government under which they live.

The "redemption" qualities of money so strongly urged by some would harmonize with such a system. All gold and silver coin desired would be available. They would be a drug in the money market. Paper money is so much more desirable that it would soon be universally used. The acceptance of paper money for all debts would be the most perfect and complete redemption possible.

It is undeniable that nine men out of ten would have more genuine confidence in paper money issued directly by the Government, without anything but the national honor back of it, than they have in either gold or silver coin. Such money would be given unqualified preference. And it would deserve confidence. Our finances would then rest upon the most substantial basis possible under the skies. It would be the money of the people. It would establish a financial system as firm as the foundations of the Government itself, and one that would survive so long as the principles of liberty and the sovereignty of the nation endure.

#### BIMETALLISM.

Bimetallism is the concurrent use of gold and silver as money at a relative value fixed by law. The specific demand for bimetallism in the United States is that the rela-

tive value be approximately sixteen of silver to one of gold, and that the coinage of silver be the same as that of gold—free and unlimited. Sentiment among the people in our country is overwhelming in favor of bimetallism. Nearly every party has declared for it in some form. At the election in 1896 over 13,500,000 votes were cast in favor of the measure, either to be adopted at once or through international agreement, while less than 500,000 persons voted against it.

The claim is made upon one side that the value of gold dollars has appreciated on account of the legislative favor that gold has received, and that the coin value is thus much higher than what it would be if it were left to its own merits like silver and other commodities.

It is claimed upon the other side that silver dollars are only worth about one-half their face value, and it would be dishonest to recognize fifty cents' worth of silver as legal dollars.

In a sense both of these claims are true. The gold dollar and the silver dollar are both dishonest. One is over-favored, the other is an outcast. There is not an honest dollar to be found of either kind. A dollar that demands fifty cents' worth more than its face value is as dishonest as the one whose face value is overrated.

The only way to remedy this financial crime is to discard both metals or recognize both as money at the proper ratio.

Through forty centuries they have come down to us as money and as precious metals, and at a general ratio not far from that suggested, or "16 to 1." They belong together, and it is futile to try to separate them. Of the two metals, silver was used as money for centuries before gold. Silver is the better suited for money. It is much more common in actual circulation. When a financial system is on a metal basis, if one metal be deprived of monetary power the volume of full legal currency is thereby reduced not far from one-half.

Bimetallism is in harmony with an invariable law. With few exceptions all nature exists in pairs and correlative. From the Garden of Eden until now everything has its companion and counterpart. The brain, and blood, and

bones of all animal life are each composed of two distinct materials. Nearly every organ in the body is one of a pair. Nearly every human need is supplied by two articles similar in nature.

There are two kinds of animal clothing—silk and wool, and two vegetable fabrics—linen and cotton. There are two chief kinds of grain—wheat and corn. How naturally we associate horses and cattle, sheep and hogs, rabbits and squirrels, dogs and cats, and even rats and mice. Our tables are supplied with beef and mutton, veal and pork, chicken and turkey, goose and duck, coffee and tea, sugar and molasses, milk and eggs. There are two kinds of fuel—wood and coal; two natural sources of light—the sun and moon; two domestic lights—the candle and lamp; two manufactured lights—gas and electricity; two sources of power—electricity and steam; and two methods of sending messages—telegraph and telephone. Fruits and vegetables are closely associated in pairs. There are two kinds of potatoes. We have pears and apples, peaches and apricots, cherries and plums, strawberries and raspberries, gooseberries and currants, beets and onions, turnips and carrots, peanuts and chestnuts, shellbarks and walnuts, oranges and lemons, pineapples and bananas, beans and peas.

Of the entire sixty-seven chemical elements almost none are ever seen alone. Air is composed of nitrogen and oxygen; neither would answer by itself. Water, the most abundant substance in nature, is composed of two substances, oxygen and hydrogen; separated, one would blow the earth into pieces and the other would burn the fragments, but together they are the emblem of honesty, purity, and divinity.

The atomic weight of oxygen is 16 and that of hydrogen is 1. Water is, therefore, atomically, precisely 16 to 1.

Common salt is composed of two substances, highly poisonous when separated. Pure iron is but little known and worthless. The best Bessemer steel is composed of iron and carbon almost exactly 16 to 1. Scarcely a single metal is suited to any use in its pure state. They all require a companion. Nearly all are dangerous when isolated. There are seventeen elements in the human body;

if isolated some would explode, others would burn, one would even dissolve glass, and man would become a center of danger and destruction.

Tin alone is unfit to make a dinner pail. Pure lead is unfit to make type or even shot. Neither pure gold nor pure silver can be used for money. All coin is of necessity composed of two metals. Every dollar or dime must of necessity be bimetallic. Nature has established an inexorable law in favor of bimetallism, and she must be obeyed.

In the mines gold and silver are found organically wedded. A noted authority says: "All gold coin contains silver which it is impossible to remove." It may be that the coming dollar will be one of silver and gold—"16 to 1"—melted together in the same crucible, and when inseparably united made into a coin combining all the virtues and free from all the objections which the two metals now possess as money. It would seem that the Great Teacher meant the whole realm of nature, including the metallic world, when He said: "What, therefore, God hath joined together let not man put asunder."

#### INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM.

In connection with the subject of bimetallism, the suggestion of an international agreement upon the question has secured recognition in the general issue.

It would consist of various nations agreeing upon a certain basis of ratio between gold and silver, and each nation in the compact adopting bimetallism upon that basis. If all nations should enter into such an agreement, gold and silver, related by a specific ratio, would constitute the authorized legal "standard" of value; and, to use an oft repeated saying, "an American dollar would be worth one hundred cents anywhere in the world."

In what way the United States would profit by an international agreement in favor of bimetallism has never been satisfactorily explained. Why we should be anxious that an American dollar be worth one hundred cents and of high purchasing power in the markets of London, or Paris, or Shanghai, or "anywhere on earth" is not easily comprehended.

International bimetallism is both undesirable and un-American. There are tens of thousands of men in the United States who refuse to become citizens and support our institutions, yet who are making and saving every dollar possible and sending it to the Orient. A still greater number are working in our mines and scavenging our streets, only to return to foreign shores with American gold. Even the matrimonial adventurer comes from across the sea and captures our wealth and beauty and settles it in titled Europe. Thousands of our citizens, as tourists, cross the ocean every year, hobnob with royalty, and save enough by doing their shopping in London and Paris to pay their passage over and return. According to a recent report made by the Treasury Department at New York, not far from \$40,000,000 worth of goods have been thus brought from Europe annually and allowed to come free of duty.

What our country needs is a money of its own. What our people want is an adequate supply of dollars that are good upon our own soil; good for the merchant and the mechanic, the educated and the ignorant, the rich and the poor. If American money should begin to depreciate the moment it left our shores, and the further it should travel the less it would be worth, our country need not suffer in consequence and no patriotic American would have cause to complain. International bimetallism is a fraud and a dangerous snare.

International bimetallism is open to a still deeper objection. If all nations were to adopt it the world would become one great system of finance. And like all other systems, it would have a circumference and also a center. The center of this great financial system would be Great Britain. The world would be one great financial empire and London would be the throne. From this point usury, and wholesale speculation, and the oppressions and dictations of concentrated capital would radiate. London is now the pulse of the world's finance: it would then be its heart.

The measure would enslave all nations to a money system. No country would be free. No government would have an independent financial system, nor could it

pass laws to protect itself without first consulting and gaining the permission of powers chiefly alien to its own interests.

The object wrought by the Revolutionary War was chiefly financial liberty, and by adopting international bi-metallism we would, in no small measure, cast to the winds that which once cost the life's blood of our fathers. Well might the question of Washington here be asked: "Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any other part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalries, interests, humor, or caprice?"

#### THE AMOUNT OF MONEY NEEDED.

Money is as necessary in the channels of business as water in the channels of the rivers. No matter how pure water may be, it requires an abundance of it to bear the freighted commerce of the world upon its bosom; and no matter how good money may be, it requires an abundance of it to meet the demands of a great and prosperous people.

An adequate supply of money is imperative. It is not only needed in large business centers, but everywhere. To be short of money is a calamity. This truth applies with equal force to the bankers of Wall Street, to the farmers upon the prairie, to the merchant prince, or to the keeper of a peanut stand.

Said the political economist Hume: "In every kingdom into which money begins to flow in greater abundance than formerly, everything takes a new face. Labor and industry gain life; the merchant becomes more skillful and diligent; and even the farmer follows his plow with more alacrity and attention." The Monetary Commission of 1876 showed that the disasters of the Dark Ages were caused by decreasing the amount of money among the people.

The claim is made that there is plenty of money, but that during recent years it has sought a hiding-place, and refuses to come out and circulate because business affairs have shown a low ebb of confidence. This is half a truth

only. It has sought refuge chiefly because it has been in the hands of the few and because it is the wrong kind of money. Our money represents gold, and gold is a commercial article. Great financial magnates, aided by our banking system, take advantage of this fact, practically corner our money market, and wait until money can secure special prices or special terms before investing it. Our money, based upon gold, in an indirect way does exactly what gold did during and after the war. "No people in a great emergency ever found a faithful ally in gold. . . . It was the most invincible enemy of the public credit. Gold paid no soldier or sailor. It was worth most when our fortunes were the lowest. . . . But, as usual, when danger had been averted and victory had been secured, gold swaggers to the front and asserts the supremacy."

But the free coinage of silver would afford only temporary relief. The adoption of bimetallism, by doubling the amount of standard money, would relieve conditions for a season; but as both metals would be subject to the same influences that gold is now exposed to, the control of money would rapidly drift into the hands of a few.

Both gold and silver are secured through private channels; the Government simply coins the bullion. They are both subject to feverish speculation. Gold and silver mines are owned by men wild to get rich. In the end bimetallism, if the two metals were declared the only real money, would favor the few and oppress the many. The people would be at the mercy of the money kings and mine owners; and as many of these are aliens and live in foreign lands, serious complications would, in the end, be inevitable.

What the people need is not more money that they can borrow or buy with mortgages and slavery, but more natural money, a money of the people, a money that will flow through the channels of industry and commerce entirely divorced from private entanglements.

As civilization increases and the needs of the people grow, more money per capita is required. Every new invention that creates new wants demands an increase of our circulating medium. Unless the purchasing capacity of

the people be increased, every additional need must mean the abandonment of some old comfort or the contraction of a debt to secure the new.

There is less of exchange in business than formerly. Producers sell their wares for cash and they buy for cash. Gigantic concerns require an amount of money altogether unnecessary years ago. Cash transactions have multiplied enormously, and their magnitude has outgrown comparison with former times. In one office building in New York city "over 23,000 persons went in and out in a single day, and the business transacted surpassed that of many of our small-sized cities." Business exchanges running into the millions are of daily occurrence. While these transactions are not made in cash, yet the more closely they are represented by actual money somewhere, the more legitimate and natural they are.

When times of financial stringency come these great money centers are the last to suffer. As the ocean is swelled when the rivers run dry, so when panics prevail in the land financial centers become engorged and hold dominion over the money market.

As only the Government can coin or issue money, it is the first concern of good statesmanship to see that the people are fully supplied. When a stringency occurs, it should never be due to a lack of a sufficient quantity of money, but to some fault which needs correction in the methods of handling it.

#### THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Perhaps no one thing has deceived so many really good people or so corrupted the popular mind and public morals as the license system. License is wrong in principle and vicious in practice. It is not a remedy for intemperance. It promotes it. A saloon has the same effect upon the average young man or a toper as a toy or candy shop window does upon the child. It tempts him. It ruins him. License does not tend to lessen or destroy the liquor business, but protects and establishes it. As an economic measure it is worse than a failure.

*All license regarding wrongs or evils should forever cease.*

The sale of liquor and other injurious things could then be regulated or prohibited from a common sense business standpoint. These things should stand upon their own merits, not upon the merits of the money they pour into the public treasury.

The sentiment in favor of the suppression of the liquor traffic has never been more than feebly expressed at the ballot-box. The license system and the drink traffic have never met their opponents in open, decisive battle. The advocates of no reform have been so separated into factions as those who desire temperance reform; and none have encountered such gigantic opposition.

There are many reasons why prohibition is strongly opposed. The liquor traffic is an enterprise of gigantic proportions. It employs nearly 1,000,000 men. The annual sales reach \$1,000,000,000. The profits are large. It pours into our national Treasury over \$160,000,000 annually. It is, in the form of license, a chief source of revenue for cities and towns. It is entrenched in municipal, State, and national politics. It conducts nearly 250,000 saloons, and each one is a center of political influence. In its trail are millions of voters who, to some extent, are addicted to drink and whose influence it secures. It is organized. It is one solid, combined power. Money is made easily by those in the business; they get it cash down; they spend it freely and are willing to buy their political liberties at the highest price. In its organized form the liquor traffic is prepared to secure everything that union or forces can produce or that money can buy. It is well-nigh invulnerable.

To destroy the liquor traffic would cut off a great source of revenue. It would throw legions of men out of employment. As a single-issue measure prohibition has failed, and is likely to fail in the future, to secure enough "election-day followers" to win success.

The fact that the closing of the saloon would be of untold benefit to society and to business has failed to impress the public mind. The conscience of the liquor seller, clouded by the love of lucre; the conscience of the liquor drinker, clouded by the love of his dram; and the conscience of the average Christian, clouded by the love of

party, all compromise upon the same ticket on election day. For over twenty years this three-sided battle has been going on, and liquor has won almost every time. Even those who are actually engaged in the cause of temperance fail to realize the great battle that is before them. Their efforts, zealous and praiseworthy as they may be, fall short of what is necessary to accomplish the end in view.

During a division of property every saloon, every bar-room, every brewery, and every distillery could be closed, their stock and equipments destroyed, and every person engaged in the business find more desirable positions in other lines of action. The sale of liquor could then be restricted to medical and scientific purposes by proper laws. Only the purest would be made and their sale confined to proper channels. These laws would, beyond question, meet with popular approval. Appetite and habit would of course rebel, but their influence would rapidly wane, and in a short time sobriety would become a crowning virtue of the nation.

#### GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF THE RAILROADS AND OTHER MONOPOLIES.

There are over 180,000 miles of railroads in the United States. In operating them over 800,000 men are employed and nearly \$800,000,000 are annually expended. The estimated value of railroad property is over \$12,000,000,000. While they are operated as private concerns, they are involved in debt to the extent of \$11,500,000,000.

There are over 1,000,000 miles of telegraph and telephone wires in the country, the receipts of our telegraph system alone being over \$22,000,000.

Our annual output of coal is about 200,000,000 tons, the mining of which is one of the leading industries of the country. Over 2,000,000,000 gallons of oil are annually taken from the earth, and it is used in almost every household.

There were taken from the mines of the United States in 1898 gold to the value of over \$64,000,000 and over \$70,000,000 (commercial value) worth of silver.

These great natural monopolies have all become national in importance. There is a rapidly growing demand that they and other similar forms of wealth belong to the Government. They have entirely outgrown the safety point as private enterprises. Together they employ not far from 1,500,000 men.

In making the government ownership of these great monopolies, or any one of them, the basis of a political issue, the question naturally arises, How can the Government acquire them? Would the Government buy the present railroads, take them without buying, or build parallel lines and, through competitive influence, force the roads now operating to quit business?

None of these plans are practicable. To buy them would establish an aristocracy. The Government would simply assume guardianship over a lot of native and foreign bondholders. To take them without paying for them would be both unconstitutional and dishonest. To build new roads parallel would be foolhardy. The old lines are, as a rule, just where they should be. Their courses have become as fixed as the beds of rivers, and new lines would be a preposterous undertaking. And what is true of railroads also applies to telegraph, telephones, street-car lines, and to all natural monopolies. As a single-issue measure it would be impossible to transfer these great holdings from private to public possession with any degree of equity. It could be done only as the accompaniment of a universal readjustment of property among all the people. These and all other natural monopolies, whether national, State, or municipal, could then be reserved as public property with absolute fairness to all.

#### TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES.

The formation of "trusts" and other combinations during recent years has attracted widespread attention, and their consideration is one of the most prominent subjects connected with politics at the present time. While the primary object of trusts is to lessen expense and render more efficient and satisfactory service to the public, their real object under present conditions seems to be to secure

a monopoly in some special line of goods, control the output, arbitrarily fix prices, and crush or kill all disconnected opposition. It is simply the method that unbridled power has always adopted to fortify itself and promote its own interests.

Trusts represent a large share of the financial and industrial enterprise of the nation. Over 600 industrial trusts and combinations have been formed in this country, and their combined capitalization is about \$8,000,000,000. It would seem that our entire manufacturing system eventually will be under the dominion of this form of combination, more than one-half of it being already so absorbed.

Trusts have been vehemently assailed in popular discussion, and the sentiment against them as now operated is both widespread and strong. But they have only multiplied and become more deeply and thoroughly established.

They represent a money power without a parallel in all history. They are prepared to buy anything for cash that is for sale at any price. They have the power to purchase entire congressional districts and whole states at election times as systematically as though such were an ordinary business transaction. They can buy legislatures and law courts as easily as courtesy can win a smile. They could donate to every governor of every state, every congressman, and every senator an independent fortune, and make of every president a millionaire the day he assumed office, and scarcely feel the expense, provided these governors and law-makers and presidents would turn legislation their way.

Trusts are not, however, totally bad. It is only when viewed superficially that they so appear. They are a complex organism and are, to no small degree, an outgrowth of modern progress and improved methods of doing business. It must be admitted that the capital they represent employs millions of people and supports millions of homes. It is claimed in their favor that by their existence "the prices of manufactured goods are lessened, higher wages are paid, and the public is better served." While this claim is not, as a rule, supported by facts, the

failure is due not to the existence of trusts, but to the selfish and dishonest methods followed in their management.

Trusts have the power to be the friend and protector of labor. No truth is plainer than this. Trusts fortify capital and capital employs labor, and whatever fortifies that which employs labor can, if it will, give labor an increased benefit. Theoretically trusts are desirable. It must be admitted that if honestly and wisely conducted both capital and labor would be benefited by their existence, and in addition the people would be better served and supplied. It is only through corrupt management that they merit disfavor.

Trusts represent order, system, economy of force, and intelligent action, all of which are essential to the best service and highest achievements. In union in business matters, as elsewhere, there is strength. Trusts represent the thought, wisdom, and cultivated business acumen of thousands of our most sagacious and farsighted men. Viewed in the broader and deeper light of business experience, they are not only a legitimate outgrowth of genuine progress, but they are a direct demand of the times. From the beginning progress has made our industrial and commercial life more complex, and increasing complexities have always demanded more extended and thorough organization.

The remedy to employ against trusts is not to waste energy in futile effort to destroy them, but to annul the conditions which render them an evil. Were they destroyed, the individual parts of which they are composed would survive and possess wealth and power sufficient to accomplish their ends almost as effectually as they do now. Indeed, most of the evils ascribed to trusts grew into existence and were widespread long before trusts were formed.

It is claimed that trusts crush the small concerns and make it impossible for young men to enter business. Yet it is a recognized fact that for two decades over 80 per cent. of those entering business failed. Were a river spanned by a bridge so full of mantraps that four men out of every five that undertook to cross it fell through and were

drowned, it would be a work of genuine philanthropy should some one so barricade the bridge that none could enter upon its seductive pathways. If the realm of business and manufacture, through the influence of trusts, were so walled in that no new recruits could enter until it offer more of success and less of failure, it would prove a blessing to an untold legion of men whose ambition to launch into business is greater than their ability to meet the difficulties that beset those who find themselves so engaged.

It is claimed that trusts destroy competition. Yet the fact remains that competition has been so intense for many years that manufacture and trade have been growing less and less remunerative, and competition, so long the life of business, has become its threatening death. Nothing but organized union can control competition. While all departments are overcrowded, there is imposed the additional curse of an army of misfits and incompetents who fail in one line and fly to another and demoralize all, and organized effort is the only resort whereby to make it possible for even the fittest to survive and succeed.

It is claimed that trusts raise the price of commodities and lower the wages of labor. Yet it is true that good prices are the life of trade. Nothing so demoralizes business as the loss of profit through low prices. It is the greatest menace to all forms of trade—the curse most to be feared. A nation cannot prosper except when prices are good. Measures that promise “a demand for commodities at good prices” has been the rallying-cry of political parties for years. If trusts have increased the ability to pay better wages to labor than what heretofore existed, they deserve respectful consideration. And if trusts have increased the profits of capital and labor has not shared corresponding benefits, it is to no small degree the fault of the laboring man himself. It simply shows that the vital relations that should exist between capital and labor have been destroyed. Both business and industry have for many years been undergoing a gradual decadence. Profits have been growing less and wages more unstable. They have both suffered the scourge of falling prices, and trusts have simply come to the rescue of a legion of wage-earners struggling for better pay and an army of employers struggling for better profits.

It is furthermore claimed that through the influence of trusts men are thrown out of employment. They do save labor in many directions, and by combining forces less help is needed. With the overthrow of opposition thousands of traveling men have been turned away idle. While this is all wrong, it cannot be said that the trusts are an evil in consequence. Labor-saving machinery should be a blessing, and if trusts economize labor they should on this account be a real blessing, and would be if just and natural relations existed between capital and labor.

It is to be remembered also that while trusts are a new invention, the evils now being ascribed to them have existed for years. The cause of these evils arises outside of combinations. While few or no trusts have been formed in Europe, the same evils prevail there to an extent even greater than they do in our own land.

As an illustration of what organization regarding supply and demand will accomplish, take four of our leading religious denominations—Methodist, Catholic, Presbyterian and Congregational. The Methodist and Catholic churches are systematically organized; the Presbyterian and Congregational are not. In the Methodist Church practically every pulpit in the United States has a preacher and every preacher has a pulpit, and in the Catholic Church every priest has a parish and every parish a priest, while in the Presbyterian Church at one time there were nearly 1,000 pulpits vacant and more than this number of preachers idle, and according to a recent report of the Congregational Church there are 1,011 churches unsupplied and 1,559 ministers without a charge. From a money standpoint, moreover, the Methodist pulpit and the Catholic parish, on account of system and organization, are perhaps the best two financial institutions in America. If these two denominations had no system regarding supply and demand, being so much larger than the smaller bodies mentioned, the same conditions would mean nearly 5,000 pastors idle and about 8,000 churches unsupplied. These facts conclusively prove organization to be a factor too powerful to be destroyed and too potent for good to be ruthlessly condemned.

Farming, medicine, law, merchandising, and other vo-

cations suffer greatly through lack of organization. Farming has almost ceased to pay. The average physician has an income disgracefully small. The drug business, once so profitable, on account of unrepelled competition has almost ceased to be remunerative. Taking into account the services rendered, it is considered the least profitable business in the nation, and the number of drug stores for two years decreased at the rate of nearly 1,000 annually.

Oppose organization if we will, destroy all combinations of capital if we must, yet the fact remains that they represent a force that, if properly directed and utilized, would be productive of great good. Trusts can be made to fill a most beneficent mission.

*The lesson to be learned is that while trusts are a great power, the people are still more powerful.* The duty of the people is to no longer allow them to dominate as master, but to subdue them and make of them servants. Political parties are already making a target of trusts. Yet insignificant and lame have been the remedies suggested to destroy the evil so loudly condemned.

Let it be granted that trusts as now conducted are an evil and that we would be better off without them; the fact remains that it would be wiser still to let them live, but bring them under subjection. It would be a mistake not without grave consequences to allow ourselves, impelled by political zeal, to destroy combinations of capital and enterprise without first calmly and carefully investigating the legitimate claims they hold upon modern progress and the systems of business that inevitably outgrow therefrom. The duty of the hour is to arise to the occasion—no longer allow the trusts to benefit a few, but to make their blessings extend to all.

The real remedy for trusts and all combinations of capital is a division of property—to diffuse their wealth among the toiling millions who support them by their labor. If a hundred, a thousand, or a hundred thousand men are engaged in the manufacture of hats, sewing machines, calico, children's toys, bricks, or any other commodity, and representing a corresponding investment of capital, there are no reasons why these men should not be

associated together for their own benefit and for the good of their business. No principle but a wicked one would oppose such a combination, and no law but a vicious one would prohibit it. Let us learn that related harmony and order is as desirable in business affairs as in government.

Were trusts purged of watered stock, their average capital evidently would not be far from \$1,000 for each person employed. Reliable data will almost invariably show this. One great trust capitalized at \$25,000,000 employs 25,000 men—exactly \$1,000 for each. One of our largest mercantile houses has a capital of \$7,000,000 and employs 7,000 persons—exactly the same ratio. Evidently capital and labor, in their relations and ratio to each other, are governed, like supply and demand, by well-defined natural laws.

Should a division of property be decided upon, the existence of trusts and combinations would greatly facilitate proceedings. They would become foundations on which to construct a new industrial system. The \$6,000,000,000 or \$8,000,000,000 less inflation, now invested by a few millionaires and combined in trusts would become the property of millions of persons, embracing alike the few who now own all and the many who own nothing.

Viewed aright, trusts are simply a step toward industrial liberty. The distribution of property thus organized and valued would be a plain formality rather than the array of perplexing details inevitable under other circumstances. By thus settling the problems incurred by the advent of trusts, natural progress would not only be stimulated, but it would continue undisturbed in its true and legitimate channels. Trusts are now a benefit to the few. They are now a union of influence confined to concentrated capital. In practice the members of trusts are socialists. Trusts themselves are as socialistic as the Ruskin Colony. They are a veritable proof from the realm of greed and money lust that the principle of "all things in common" is profitable even in cold, practical business. After a division of wealth they would be a benefit to all. By becoming the pathway leading up to a division of property, it would be seen that trusts were not a curse, but a blessing, and that those who founded them were not

tyrants or traitors, but benefactors, and builded wiser than they knew.

One of the most significant effects of trusts is their influence upon commercial travelers. There are 350,000 traveling salesmen in the United States. A large percentage of them have already been turned idle, and the salaries of as many more jeopardized on account of the labor-saving features of business combinations. This is not only unfair—it is downright wickedness. Traveling salesmen have been the chief factor in the growth of modern enterprise. As educators of business men throughout the country their influence has been incalculable. They have been a propelling force without which the rapid development of modern enterprise would have been impossible. No class of men have sacrificed so much; none have accomplished more; and considering the intensity of their labors, none have been so poorly remunerated. For them to be ruthlessly turned idle is an act which sinks to the level of a crime. The business of the nation, in common justice, to no small degree belongs to them. Through long years of travel and toil they have not only earned it, but established it, cared for it, and made it what it is. As a class they are men of high character, of marked ability and keen intelligence.

The only wise and honorable course open to traveling salesmen is for them to demand a division of property and thus acquire a financial interest in the goods they sell. This would at once establish the proper relations that should always exist between goods and the act of selling them.

There is a special responsibility surrounding the selling of goods entirely too little appreciated. At no time does a thing come more in touch with our life and character than when we try to sell it. The selling of goods brings into exercise all the accomplishments of business training. Nothing requires more integrity, intelligence, and tact. It might be claimed that no man has a right to engage in the selling of goods as his life-work unless he have a direct financial interest in the same as owner. While ownership may not insure the highest degree of honor at all times, yet it is the best guarantee of it. The custom,

so long in vogue, of harnessing "professional" salesmen and sending them out over the country to sell goods, with no responsibility except to employers, with no interest except contingent profits, and depending for success upon the high art of strategy and a captivating tongue, is fast losing its force and should be abandoned. Every purchaser has the right to demand that he procure goods under the most favorable conditions, but such will not be possible until every salesman is, to some extent, owner. As a matter of principle, it is the duty of traveling salesmen to demand the adoption of such a measure. No class of men could wield so great an influence in behalf of the cause. Were the entire 350,000 traveling salesmen to enlist as earnest and faithful champions of a divide-up of property, the agitation of the question would become universal and its ultimate adoption would be little less than assured.

#### IMMIGRATION.

The United States is a republic. The mission of its citizens is to make it the happiest and most prosperous nation on the earth. It now has a population of nearly 80,000,000. It could easily support over 1,000,000,000 people, or more than twelve times its present population.

Immigration constantly adds to our numbers. For the past seventeen years an annual average of nearly 500,000 foreigners have landed upon our shores. They have come from every clime and represent every phase of life and character. Many of them are to be classed among our best and most useful citizens. Others have been a constant menace to our peace, our laws, and our institutions. Immigrants, much more than our own natives, represent extremes of intelligence and ignorance, virtue and vice.

America in her early history was a refuge for the virtuous and oppressed, but there is danger of its becoming the resort of the criminal and debased. We have been so loud and reckless in vaunting American liberty to the world that a vast horde, hungry for this sort of thing, have invaded our shores, and they are so prodigal with their new privileges that there is scarcely enough liberty to go around. This class have corrupted our politics, polluted

our cities, demoralized American labor, and lowered our social standard.

That strict immigration laws be enacted and rigidly enforced is imperative. Not only should we shut out the illiterate, but, above all, the criminal and vicious, the shiftless and indolent. It would not be amiss to require a reliable certificate of character and subjection to a medical examination from all who seek a home among us. It is an accepted principle that the Almighty will not help those who are unwilling to help themselves, and the sooner this principle becomes a settled policy regarding immigration the less will the country suffer.

But the United States needs more people. Indeed, to increase her population should be a constant aim. We cannot get too many people of the proper sort. Few things redound more to the credit of a state or city or locality than a constant and substantial increase in population.

All cities and almost all towns have boards of trade and other organized forces the object of which is to secure manufacturing and other interests, knowing that men, with their families, will follow. Even large sums of money are often willingly and wisely given as a bonus, land is donated, taxes rebated, and other concessions made in order to secure those industries and enterprises which employ handicraft and attract home-builders.

While America ought to refuse the vicious, it should make a strong bid for the best brain and muscle of the world. It should continue to be the refuge for men and women with an upward aim in life, no matter what their condition or from whence they might come.

A vigorous policy that should exclude the criminal and depraved would at once attract those with higher aims and motives. The United States is in a position to invite the best manhood and womanhood everywhere. Here should be the center and the highest development of the Anglo-Saxon race. When we get the best mechanics and other requisites we produce the best goods, and when we do this the world will seek them and buy them here.

Paris is the center of fashion, and in consequence France reaps all the profits and advantages that a precedent in

fashion can insure. London is the center of the world's money power, and as a result England reaps all the benefits that a precedent in gold-standard heresy can bring. So it is possible for the United States to establish a precedent that shall be characteristic of its life and institutions. Our precedent should not allure the devotees of fashion or beguile the worshipers at the shrine of Mammon; it should be such as will attract all honest blood and brain to our shores that seek and can appreciate in the highest sense the benefits of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

#### THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

*Direct legislation, or the initiative and referendum*, is a movement to secure a reform in the methods of enacting laws. It originated in Switzerland, the youngest of all republics.

It consists in extending the law-making powers to the people. It is a true democratic government, wherein the people have the power to originate laws and repeal them, instead of delegating these powers to representatives, as in other countries.

The plan has been in successful operation in Switzerland since 1874, it having, in the meantime, undergone some improvements. The system has been so satisfactory that it is attracting widespread attention, and throughout the United States efforts are being made to secure its adoption.

It is not only a success, but it is establishing the important and too easily forgotten fact that it is entirely safe to intrust the governmental affairs of a nation directly to the people.

Switzerland, through the operation of the system, has been enabled to adopt many reforms that would otherwise have been impossible. The republic already owns its telegraphs and is negotiating for its railroads. A chief advantage of the system is that it has proven to be a great educator of the people. It brings every voter in close touch with legislative proceedings, and popular interest is kept alive and the diffusion of economic intelligence pro-

moted to the highest degree. The measure is being diligently advocated in the United States, many of our best scholars and statesmen heartily indorse it, and it will doubtless soon become embodied as a part of our organic governmental system.

Election reform must also always include improvements in methods. United States Senators should be elected by the direct vote of the people. Few measures are more in need of adoption. The United States Senate has degenerated, and its degradation will continue until machine politics cease to dictate who shall occupy its chairs. So long as money and "boss" influence, instead of votes, makes Senators, the true interests of the people will be ignored. Our present system of electing Senators is a remnant of monarchy. Its continuance can only block and impede progress. It is totally incompatible with the higher and broader forms of republicanism.

#### AN HONEST ELECTION.

The right of suffrage is the chief pillar in our national structure, and an honest ballot is the foundation-stone upon which that pillar rests.

An honest ballot and a fair count is the first and perhaps the greatest issue in American politics. Upon securing these depends the success of all other desirable measures.

Corruption is, it would seem, the sheet-anchor of the modern politician. Sentiments and policies are manufactured to suit the occasion, and clubs of voters are formed and sold out to the highest bidder, like so many sheep, or collected and sold by the dozen, like eggs. To meet these contingencies the richest, and in some respects the best men we have "chip in" and buy stuffing for the ballot-box with as much zeal and earnestness as though it were clothing for the naked or food for the starving. The public conscience is quick and tender at many points, but on the side of politics it is well-nigh dead. In order to elect a legislator, a governor, or a president, men will resort to all the schemes known to trickery and infamy, and when their design is accomplished they will settle down

as complacently and with as much dignity as though their success were due to a special interference of the Omnipotent. Honesty is almost completely overshadowed in politics, because to the bribe-taker it is a most profitable field, while to the honest man it offers little pay. It is reliably stated that presidential elections have cost from \$10,000,000 to \$15,000,000. Future triumphs of the money power will cost increasing amounts. Some part of the money expended at such times goes for legitimate purposes, but the most of it is spent in a way to secure the most votes, and no questions are asked.

Bribery promises to become a political high art and the chief dependence in carrying the elections. Laws against it are almost a dead letter. The surprising thing about it is that really good men resort to it. None but sinners will sell their votes, but apparently Christians of the most circumspect class will contribute money to buy them.

Of all political questions, that of bribery and dishonesty is perhaps the most difficult to meet. There is but one sure remedy—an election in which honesty, loyalty to principle, and adherence to convictions pay better than the offers of the bribe-giver. Level the possessions of wealth and bribery will become next to impossible. When statesmanship offers the people what belongs to them—the rich legacies and opportunities of a free country—millionaire politicians will be outdone.



And they shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat.—ISAIAH.

In the world's broad field of battle,  
In the bivouac of life,  
Be not like dumb, driven cattle;  
Be a hero in the strife.

—HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

The great question of the future is money against legislation. My friends, you and I will be in our graves long before the battle is ended; and unless our children have more courage and patience than saved this country from slavery, republican institutions will go down before moneyed corporations.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Every real thought on every real subject knocks the wind out of somebody or other. As soon as his breath comes back he very probably begins to expend it in hard words. These are the best evidences a man can have that he has said something it was time to say.—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

The American people are interested in but two things, religion and politics, and of these their schoolmasters are permitted to know nothing.—MAX O'RELL.

Of all the forms in which corruption can present itself, the bribery of office is the most dangerous, because it assumes the guise of patriotism to accomplish its fatal sorcery. We are often asked, Where is the evidence of corruption? Have you seen it? You might as well expect to see the embodied forms of pestilence and famine stalking before you as to see the latent operations of this insidious power.—GEORGE M. DUFFIE.

## CHAPTER XII.

## A DIVIDE-UP AS A POLITICAL ISSUE.

POLITICS is the science of government. Its operation in a republic like ours is the vital force that sustains the national life. Nothing is so potent for good or evil. When dominated by error or wrong it fills the land with dread. When guided by correct and lofty motives it is our bulwark of safety. Politics has made our history. Through it as a medium we must win our victories. To it are intrusted our private fortunes and our public destinies. Politics enthrones all with a sacred trust. It is the holy ark within which are the oracles of law and the liberties of free citizenship. To ignore politics is anarchy; to pollute it is treason.

What the country needs most is a new era in politics, and what politics needs most is new issues, new men, and modern methods.

To advocate a divide-up would bring a new and extraordinary power into the political field. Party lines would be drawn from new standpoints and party principles would rest upon a new basis.

To divide up and start even as a political issue would in no sense be a fantastical theory or a complicated dogma. It would not be a many-sided, complex, and confusing mystery that only a few could understand. It would not be a fraud, a sham issue, a magnified farce, fostered and fanned by either demagogues or fanatics to fool the people. Even a child could understand it, and every intelligent citizen would know exactly what he was voting for.

As a political issue it would cover the entire country. It would be exactly as big as the United States. It would interest all parts of the country alike. It would reach the family occupying the most remote corner of Maine, or Florida, or California, or the State of Washington. Every state, every county, every city and town, every family and

fireside, every man, woman and child would receive just recognition. The nation would become a unit. Faction fights would be forgotten. Voters would face an entirely new front. All sectional differences between the North and the South, the East and the West would be obliterated. It would be the cause not of a class or faction, but of all the people.

It would be a gigantic issue. In its magnitude and scope it would be without a parallel in all history. But it is to be remembered that our nation has become a great country. It would not surpass in magnitude the nation itself or the duties of its statesmen.

*A divide-up would mean the lifting of over \$50,000,000,000 worth of property from its present moorings and transferring it into the possession of 50,000,000 people who now possess little or nothing.* This is more wealth and more people than the entire nation possessed twenty years ago. But a tremendous power is needed to free enslaved citizenship, to destroy political corruption, and purify the ballot-box. No force yet devised has been able to correct these great powers of evil. The mistake made is that men conceive the idea that these things can be corrected or destroyed without cost. The great defect in present political issues is that they lack the element of force. They fail to secure a following. They are too local, too narrow, too factional, and fail to secure the alliance required to win. We try to prune instead of uprooting. We cultivate sentiment, but drown convictions; we endeavor to reform, but avoid revolutions.

The history of almost any campaign shows the utter hopelessness of ordinary reform issues, be they ever so desirable or essential to the public good. During the quiet interim between elections such issues are born and grow with much promise of success. They are usually championed by able and courageous men. They enter the political field full of vigor and hope. They are advocated with all the intensity of conviction and appeal to the highest and noblest in men. But when a political campaign arrives party war-horses become aroused and the traditional hosts rally around the fossilized party banners and follow the call of their masters. All the tricks of political

art begin to operate. Paid orators begot the air over issues antiquated and dead. A subsidized press, like a myriad of vassals, day by day not only distort facts and delude the people, but with figures ridiculously small and predictions cunningly dwarfed hopelessly blight the prospects of every new issue. The conservative factions of the old parties will, if need be, join forces in order to make their permanent supremacy secure. Money flows freely and men are bought and sold like sheep. Brass bands and badges, sky-rockets and parades win the floaters and fickle in faith. These things, with increasing intensity, are kept up until election day. When the struggle is ended and the votes counted the reform issue finds itself defeated and perhaps dead and buried in oblivion. These facts teach us that an issue to succeed must be greater than the dominions of party or party bosses; stronger than the power of money or the slavery of labor; deeper than the indifference of the masses or the apathy of ignorance.

We must learn the fact that only a great question will arouse the people and win in politics. When reform measures do triumph they almost invariably fail to accomplish their intended end. Said the Hon. John Wanamaker, America's merchant prince, in a recent important address: "Pennsylvania has not made an inch-step of real advance in good government for thirty years. She has talked about it, marched and countermarched under and over all sorts of platforms and pledges of reform, and landed every time at the same old place." And what is true of Pennsylvania is true of almost every state in the Union. It is also true of the nation as a whole, and of every county, city, and town. We have espoused reforms and elected reform presidents, reform governors, reform mayors, and reform legislators. We have been lured first by one shibboleth and then another. Good men have stood up to be knocked down. Ideals have been formulated into party platforms only to make the success of the opposite more secure. When a good man is elected to office he finds himself handicapped by intrenched powers long established that rule the field.

No measure can hope to win unless it interest all the people. Nor can it profit by victory unless it represent

the popular will. Fugitive issues and sectional questions only embarrass political force and prevent progress. The imperative need of American politics is a vital question, broad and great as the nation itself, that will arouse the attention of every citizen and every fireside.

A divide-up would be a radical issue. It would aim not at symptoms, but at the disease; not to simply palliate, but to cure. Most of the issues launched forth simply propose to correct unfair methods, while permitting unjust conditions to remain. If unjust laws and unfair methods have produced millionaires and paupers, the usual remedy would simply repeal the law and correct the methods, but let the real trouble—the millionaires and the paupers—continue.

These half-way measures are neither practicable nor honest. When 1,000,000 men have absorbed the wealth of the nation and hold warrantee deeds and gilt-edged securities for it, it is not fair to then pass laws to prohibit others from growing rich and leave unmolested the 1,000,000 who have absorbed the wealth of the country. Such laws would inevitably establish an invulnerable aristocracy. The Government would at once adopt paternalism in favor of the few. Legislation of this sort would be as a great gulf, with the heaven of wealth upon one side and the perdition of poverty upon the other side, forming a chasm across which few or none could pass. It is as essential that vicious conditions be corrected as that corrupt laws be repealed. If laws and methods have been faulty, and, in consequence, the fruits of the toil and enterprise of four centuries have been concentrated in the hands of a few men, the condition, as well as the laws or methods through which it resulted, should be removed. A law or a method can be no worse or more in need of correction than its evil effects are. It is quite as important and as much a function of real justice to return plunder to the owners as to make more stringent laws against pilfering.

But the facts go still further. The conditions need correcting far more than the laws do. It does not appear that laws bearing upon the subject have either produced or prevented extremes of wealth and poverty. These

things are the result of human nature, not of law or the lack of it. Moreover, we can compel a division of property; but it is impossible to regulate human nature through legislation. It is a fact well recognized that we have too many laws already. The rich as a class do not obey those we have. Patriotic as most rich men are, wealth ever strives to be a law unto itself. There are few fences it will not climb; there are few statutes it does not feel at liberty to break.

The uselessness of laws intended to govern the special duties of the rich is well illustrated by the manner in which they escape the laws regulating taxation. *Income taxes* and all other similar enactments have proved futile wherever tried. As soon as the rich are taxed to an unusual extent, they increase their sources of revenue by raising rents, lowering wages, or advancing profits through trusts and combines. Taxing the rich to establish financial equity has been tried in England and other countries where there is not only an income tax, but various other revenues paid entirely by the rich. Yet in the midst of them the rich have grown richer and the poor poorer. It is the wage-earner, the renter, the borrower, and the consumer who invariably foot the bill. There are many who imagine that an income tax would remedy present conditions, and such a law has been strongly advocated. But there are many reasons why it would entirely fail to fill its intended mission. It would only more securely fortify the rich and more deeply enslave the poor.

As an issue, to divide up and start even would bring genuine patriotism into politics. In its discussion, obedience toward God and justice toward mankind would at once become a basic principle. Love of country would be enthroned. It would be an issue between patriotism and selfishness, manhood and mammonism, gallantry and greed. It would enlist the greatest in brain, the noblest in heart, and the grandest in character. It would tend to collect and crystallize into a tangible unit, at the ballot-box, a multitude of forces now being wasted in isolated efforts. Politics would get the benefit of powers now operating outside of the political field, but which legitimately belong to it. There are a multitude of organized

influences, representing not only the best intentions, but great political power if directly applied, which are now conflicting elements, and which, in consequence, diminish rather than augment the better political forces of the nation. Thus it is that the forces of evil, by being concentrated into a political unit, are triumphant at elections, while the forces for good, divided and confused, are defeated and destroyed.

By giving patriotism a purpose men would be aroused into concentrated action. What politics needs and what it must have before the best element is again triumphant is a campaign inspired by lofty motives. A moral conflict that demanded the courage of the old, the chivalry of the young, and the devoted loyalty of every one would be of untold benefit to all concerned.

Politics needs saturating with a vital principle. Leaders would rather be patriots than pettifoggers. The masses would rather defend a noble cause than be dupes of political bosses. When brought face to face with duties demanding unselfish devotion and sacrifice, mankind has seldom deserted or made a retreat. Men are never so true as when enlisted in a noble cause; never so brave as when facing a real danger; never so sure to attain the mark as when the reaching requires their best. The most endearing charm of history is the records of manhood tested and tried and found to be true. Whether following the leadership of Joan of Arc, a Washington, or a Grant, men have made a record of which posterity has ever had cause to be proud. No people were ever more patriotic than Americans, and Americans were never more loyal than now. All they need is a visible purpose and an awakened motive. It is only when purposes grow dim that men grow weak; it is only when incentives disappear that duty forsakes its post and retires to sleep. Our military force is over 10,000,000 strong, and should a sufficient emergency of war occur it would arise as one man and offer its all for humanity's cause. And it is no less strong in an emergency of peace.

With a divide-up as an issue, *an honest election* would be assured. No matter how reckless bribery might become, it would be overshadowed by personal interests. At such

an election every man's vote would mean \$1,000 in property for himself and the same for his wife and each of his children. If a young man were anticipating matrimony it would mean \$1,000 in property for himself and the same for his bride. To the business man it would mean a revolution in his trade. To the professional man it would mean an increased patronage among those able to pay. To the farmer it would mean a market, at a good price, for his products. To the laboring man and wage-earner it would mean industrial liberty and financial opportunity. To womanhood and childhood it would mean an inspiring interest never equaled before. To the rich it would mean a chance to display executive ability in behalf of mankind instead of bestowing all upon self.

Should a division of property become a political issue, the most telling point, perhaps, against it would be the embarrassment and humiliation that would be visited upon the rich. To the wealthy it would be a severe trial. This is a fact all must admit. To see the fruits of years of toil and energy swept away and distributed to others, in many instances to those unworthy, would be an ordeal surpassingly great. To those especially who have grown old in merited honor, success, and luxury, it would be a humiliation, keen and deep. There are princes among men in the realm of business and enterprise, and the honor and affection bestowed upon them are such that a king might envy. For them to willingly submit would show a rare martyrdom; for them to favor such an undertaking would be a heroism sublime. Indeed, the just claims of the rich add immensely to the gravity of the measure. It imposes the ultimatum of responsibility. It joins it with the Infinite as a sacred trust. It would be a crime, heinous beyond degree, if ruthlessly done. The parable of the rich fool is a warning against forcing a division of property through selfish motives. No man should advocate such a measure until its justice, its need, and its wisdom are as clear as the brightness of the noonday sun.

But viewed in a proper light a divide-up would lessen, and not increase, the misfortunes and humiliations of the wealthy. How fickle is fortune now! Financial wrecks are to be found everywhere. Chauncey Depew, who has

had a remarkable clientage among rich men, is reported as saying that his experience "has been that eight-tenths of them lose their fortunes during their lifetime." How the princes of the world have been humiliated by poverty during their declining years! Columbus, Pitt, Clay, Jefferson, Grant, Walter Scott, and a legion of others equally worthy are striking illustrations of how little fortune venerates worth and age.

There are as many who lose their all in a few years under present conditions as would suffer in a general division of property. The "bulls" and the "bears," the speculators and kings of finance who corner commodities and enforce panics, crush more homes and blight more lives in a single generation than would meet disaster by leveling wealth among all the people.

A divide-up would not cause, but it would prevent wholesale financial shipwreck. It would give stability to wealth, and this cannot be done so long as great extremes prevail or a few control all others. It would stifle speculation and remove the jeopardy of fluctuating prices. It would be wise statesmanship to level possessions, if for no other reason than to make the getting of a livelihood universally easy and property more secure and stable.

That the rich would be obliged to vacate their present mansions and that the best portions of our cities would be vacated; that there would be no rich to purchase valuables and high-priced goods, and that, in consequence, a most desirable market would be destroyed; and that we need the inspiration which the presence of the wealthy and successful impart, and which would be lost, are among the many considerations easily woven into political arguments against a general division of property.

But the mansions of the rich are scarcely occupied now. A goodly portion of the wealthy maintain from two to five residences, and not a few own a private yacht upon which to disport as a pastime. The most magnificent private residence in America has cost, it is claimed, \$4,000,000, and its owner, since its completion, has occupied it less than thirty days each year. If money is worth 6 per cent. interest, every day spent in this palace has cost its owner \$8,000, to say nothing of servants, repairs, taxes,

and sumptuous fare. As a matter of fact, the mansions of the rich are the least used—the most reclusive and the most superfluous portion of our national wealth. They are chiefly located in large towns and cities, and they would, under the new social conditions following a divide-up, serve a most useful and opportune purpose as school buildings, libraries, art galleries, hospitals, and for other scientific, educational, and social uses.

As far as the purchases of the rich are concerned, much of their shopping is already done in Europe, and a large share of what they purchase at home has crossed the sea and in no way benefits home industry. It is the rich and the following they secure, more than anything else, that brings foreign labor into competition with American industry.

The presence of the rich is not a wholesome inspiration to mankind. To be overstimulated in the pursuit of wealth is only a curse. Men were placed upon the earth for a nobler mission than becoming infatuated with the glamour and glory of riches. To trail after the votaries of Mammon prevents normal ambition and always jeopardizes the motives and success of the young. It is also to be remembered that the rich, comparatively speaking, are very few in number. Where one succeeds many fail. The aged, as a rule, are poor. Those who have worked the hardest often have the least. Those who most deserve often come down to old age with a pittance. The rich and the poor have grown old together. They are organically related in every phase of life. Both are largely the result of circumstances over which they exercised only partial control. To no small degree the poor have made the few rich and the rich have made the many poor. A divide-up would harmonize divergent conditions resulting from coordinate energies and activities. A division of property would mean a comfortable allowance to all, and the measure, in addition, includes a pension to all aged and invalid persons, thus placing the comforts of life within reach of every one.

To the unprejudiced student of economics in the broadest sense, nothing is more evident than that a divide-up of property would benefit more people, with injury to less,

than any other measure within the power of citizenship. "Forty thousand men own one-half of the wealth of the United States, while 40,000,000 people have practically nothing." Each one of these 40,000 men owns that which represents the labor, life, and character of 1,000 of his neighbors. "One hundred fortunes aggregate \$3,000,000,000." This is equal to \$1,000 for each man, woman, and child in Massachusetts and Rhode Island together, or both Georgia and Louisiana, or the States of California, Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, and North and South Dakota combined.

It might be claimed, on the basis of reliable estimates relative to the subject, that were a division of property and the cancellation of debts made, not more than one voter, or family, or child in fifteen would lose financially. And when we remember that great wealth is an actual curse to the most of those who possess it, it must be admitted that the measure would be an unmixed blessing to almost every individual in the nation, no matter what his or her present social or financial condition may be. When we realize the wonderful diversities of wealth and poverty that prevail and consider the age in which we live, the privileges we enjoy as citizens, the religion we profess to believe, the possibilities within our reach, the civilizing forces which bewilder us upon every side, and the democratic spirit that, on account of cowardice and indifference, allows the condition to continue and grow more pronounced, it brings to view an object-lesson that has had few parallels in all history. While we are more advanced and more progressive than any other nation is now or ever was, yet we are, at the same time, further from what we might be or what we must become to accomplish our mission as the leader and exemplar among the nations of the world.

Should a divide-up and start-even become a political issue, its discussion and execution would in many of its features resemble the Civil War. The primary cause of one was chattel slavery; of the other, industrial and financial slavery. In one instance the rich owned men, both life and body; in the other, the rich own not the bodies, but the lives of men. Three hundred thousand men

owned all the slaves. The country has increased fourfold, and four times as many, or 1,200,000 persons practically own all the wealth now. About one man in fifteen lost his slaves, and about one man in fifteen would lose his wealth in a division of property. The war established the authority of the Government over a single state or combination of states; a division of property would establish the authority of the Government over individual ownership or combination of capital. The war set the bodies of men free; a divide-up would liberate human life. It would establish, in the broader and higher sense, that fundamental principle promulgated by the great authority Blackstone, that "sovereignty and legislation are indeed convertible terms; one cannot exist without the other."

Many would doubtless oppose a divide-up and start-even on the ground that it would establish an undesirable precedent. It would be claimed that in a short time there would be a clamor for another division. To undergo the process once need not necessarily establish the measure as a settled policy of the nation. It would not make another division in the future inevitable. Another division might be desirable at the end of fifty, a hundred, or a thousand years, but future generations, it is to be hoped, will be, more than we are now, equal to the exigencies of the age in which they shall live. As an incident of history it would serve as a wholesome check to unbridled ambition and to the growth of morbid extremes in the future.

The question arises, Who would be the chief champions and promoters of a divide-up and start-even should it become an issue in our national politics?

Both rich and poor would undoubtedly favor the measure, and both would oppose it.

Viewed superficially, it is easy to imagine that in the midst of such an issue the people would sit down and estimate their wealth and count the number of persons in their families, and if they concluded that a divide-up would be a gain they would favor it; if it promised a loss they would oppose it. As more than nine men out of ten would gain by the adoption of the measure, it is not difficult to imagine that there would be a general stampede in favor of it, and that such a beneficent cause would

gain an easy victory. But such expectations would not be realized. The dominion of wealth and the bondage of wage-earning and poverty are not so easily overcome. It would mean an intense struggle. It would require the most unselfish patriotism and a display of the highest type of heroism.

That many rich persons would heartily support the measure cannot be doubted. It is to be remembered that a divide-up and start-even would involve a great principle, and principles win followers from those who sacrifice as well as from those who profit. While this is true, the rich as a class would vehemently oppose it. When men gain advantages over their fellow-men, either in wealth or power, they seldom voluntarily give up their dominion. If history is a reliable teacher, it must be expected that many of those who should most zealously and forcibly support the measure would be its bitterest and most relentless foes.

As in past conflicts, many who are eminent in religion, distinguished in learning, and prominent in society and politics would doubtless assail such a reform and vehemently denounce it as wrong in principle and vicious in practice. While a large share of the Christian element would here find its ideal in politics and heartily enlist in the crusade for justice and righteousness, not a few would throw their influence against it. Of all the forces in the world, perhaps that which has operated under the form of religion has been at times the most desperate enemy and opponent of genuine progress. About one-third of our population is professedly Christian. Over \$30,000,000,000 in property belong to those who pray: "Thy kingdom come." It is a pleasant thought to believe that these people would rejoice at the opportunity to unite in uplifting humanity with their wealth. But no class of people are more disappointing in the face of a noble cause or a great crisis than those looked up to as the great and good.

Nor has learning been a leader or even a faithful supporter of progressive reforms. Says Benjamin Kidd: "It has to be confessed that in England during the nineteenth century the educated classes, in almost all the great po-

litical changes that have been effected, have taken the side of the party afterward admitted to have been in the wrong. They have invariably opposed at the time the measures they have subsequently come to defend and justify." And the record of scholars in politics in our own land has been little better. Referring to an eventful period in our own history, culminating in the crusade against slavery, Wendell Phillips said: "Amid this battle of giants scholarship sat dumb for thirty years, until imminent deadly peril convulsed it into action; and colleges, in despair, gave to the army that help they had refused to the market-place and the rostrum."

The professional office-holder and the political boss, whether high or low, would, of course, oppose any measure which should threaten their political prestige. Political corruption is one of the curses that a division of property is intended to destroy, and those who profit by it would denounce the measure as diabolical and treasonable.

Conservatives would sincerely deplore and lament the disaster which, to their vision, would inevitably follow a division of property. Fogies would honestly predict social chaos and political ruin. Pessimists would be horror-stricken. These experiences have characterized every great advance in history, and human nature is likely to continue the same to the end of time.

The chief promoters of a divide-up would come from the great middle class, from men who are neither worshippers of Mammon nor slaves to its power. There are many reasons why this would be true. Sympathy is a more powerful incentive than self-interest. The most zealous and effective champions of justice and liberty are those who witness wrong rather than those who suffer its oppressions. True heroism emanates not from the head nor from the pocket-book, but it is an impulse of the heart. It is to be expected, therefore, that a great issue like a divide-up and start-even would be chiefly supported by those most deeply aroused by the principles involved. This is a wise provision of the Creator in preparing mankind for great epochs in human affairs, because it requires convictions strongly rooted in the depths of character, rather than

mere sentiment, to champion a great cause and carry it to success.

The great middle classes are, after all, the most intensely concerned. The merchant and the mechanic, the farmer and the laborer, the professional man and the man of moderate means are the ones whose interests, under present conditions, are most in danger. These classes are being crowded to the wall. They are being forced to accept a life of struggle to ward off actual bankruptcy and poverty. Under present conditions it is only a question of time when the middle class of mankind—those occupying the natural, normal sphere—will become almost extinct. There are multitudes of men belonging to these classes who would temporarily lose through a division of property, but on account of improved conditions they would soon more than regain their temporary loss. Men who are now "land poor" and "property burdened" would have less, but what they should possess would afford a better income.

Every business man knows that climbing the road to success is far more pleasurable and full of charm than the goal at the end. No matter how much energy and effort it costs, genuine success in effort and energy is a rich reward. Nothing so inspires diligence and industry and rectitude of character as a reasonably successful business career. The best inheritance a father can bestow upon a son is not riches, but opportunity and a clear sense of responsibility. There are thousands of sons and daughters who, under present conditions, will inherit fortunes only to lose them and die poor. How incomparably more sensible and blessed it would be if these sons and daughters were given less to start with, but freed from the jeopardies which now threaten the financial interests of almost every one.

All that is needed to insure the success of a divide-up and start-even is that the people become fully informed upon and interested in the subject. Should it once gain a foothold upon the popular mind and heart, its growth would be inevitable. Not in the entire history of American politics has any measure so appealed to the highest and noblest in citizenship as would this one. Under the influence of proper leaders and zealously, aggressively, and

intelligently pressed throughout the land, perhaps no measure has ever secured the unanimous approval that it would receive at the ballot-box.

There are many reasons, based upon sound considerations, for believing that in a campaign in which a divide-up and start-even and naturally allied questions formed the dominant issue, every state in the Union, by an overwhelming majority, would favor its adoption. Could party affiliations be forgotten and political intimidations entirely subdued, the verdict in its favor would be well-nigh unanimous.

Now there are diversities of gifts.—PAUL.

For the heart grows rich in giving;  
All its wealth is living grain,  
Seeds which mildew in the garner,  
Scattered, fill with gold the plain.

—MRS. CHARLES.

It may be discovered that the true veins of wealth are purple—and not in rock, but in flesh—perhaps even that the final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed, and happy-hearted human creatures.—RUSKIN.

Labor, intelligent, manly, independent, thinking and acting for itself, earning its own wages, accumulating those wages into capital; educating childhood, maintaining worship, claiming the right of elective franchise, and helping to uphold the great fabric of the state. This is American labor, and all my sympathies are with it; and my voice, till I am dumb, will be for it.—DANIEL WEBSTER.

Why should we imagine that because we now have liberty we must always possess it, however supine we may be? If freedom is worth fighting for it is worth preserving. Let us never listen to the voice which would calm all our apprehensions and lull us into slumbers of security; into a quiet which might be repose indeed, but would soon be the leaden sleep of despotism.—CHARLES G. ATHERTON.

Way down in the heart there is a tenderness for human self-sacrifice which makes it seem loftier than the love of glory; for it reveals the eternal possibilities of the human soul. Wars and sieges pass away, and the great intellectual efforts cease to stir our hearts; but the man who sacrifices himself to his fellows lives forever.—THOMAS B. REED.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## A DIVIDE-UP AND NATURAL INEQUALITIES.

A DIVIDE-UP and start-even would promote normal inequalities among men.

Variety is a law of nature.

Men show diversities of ability, of temperament, and of talent almost without limit. No two are alike. But these diversities form a complete whole only when the relations are harmonious in action and reciprocal in accomplishment. For mankind to grow monstrosities or to become homogeneous like sheep is a calamity. To allow the one to monopolize the field or to compel the other by force of law would be a public crime.

It is to be remembered that man is both an animal and an intellectual force. The physical needs of all are practically the same; the intellectual possibilities may give to each an individuality entirely unlike any one else.

There are many who honestly believe that inequalities as they now exist are not only fair and proper, but essential to progress and civilization. A standing argument in defense of present conditions is that some men, on account of inherent abilities, require much, and others, in consequence of limited faculties, require very little, to supply their needs. It is also a common belief that extremes of wealth and poverty are entirely normal and the result of natural causes, and that on account of them enterprise and business are developed to a degree otherwise unobtainable.

That wealth is necessary to progress and enterprise all must admit. But it is not required that this wealth should be in the possession of a few. It is contrary to all the teachings of the past that it is more essential that a few have great wealth than that all possess a reasonable share. Such a condition has wrought the downfall of too many.

nations to need further proof of its inevitable tendency to national decay.

That men widely differ in talent and energy is a law that must be recognized. That the physical needs of men are identical is also a law that must be obeyed.

The general and ordinary physical requirements of all mankind are essentially the same. All are born naked, helpless, dependent, and ignorant. All are subject to the same physical laws. All have a uniform bodily temperature of 98.6° Fahrenheit. All require substantially the same kinds and quantity of food, clothing, and shelter. The domestic and social needs of all are similar. The highest development of the race demands that what is necessary for one exist within the reach of all.

The food requirements of mankind are remarkably uniform. Bread, water, salt, milk, fish, fruits, and animal and vegetable food are used by all mankind.

The world is clothed almost entirely from six substances—cotton, wool, silk, linen, fur, and the skin of animals. The clothing needed by the millionaire and the farmer, the dude and the day laborer, the society belle and the servant are essentially the same.

Houses are composed of a still smaller number of materials. Wood, iron, glass, brick, and stone of some kind furnish materials to build the city, the hamlet and the farm-house, the palace of the rich and the hovel of the poor.

Our social needs are exceedingly similar. All require the advantages of schools, churches, books, newspapers, recreations, amusements, and the endless variety of civilizing forces. Merchants supply all from the same markets; physicians treat all with the same remedies. Courts, if just, apply the same laws to all alike; ministers preach the same Gospel to the entire world. Fundamentally, we are all upon a level and members of one great family.

While all men are created equal and up to a certain point their needs are similar, yet beyond this point a wonderful variety is displayed. It might be said that by nature men are equally endowed, but that God interposes and crowns the work of nature with an endless diversity of gifts and powers. Some are given one talent, some

five, and some ten. Some are financiers, some are skillful with hand, others active in brain. Some love wealth; some love fame and honor; some are domestic and reclusive.

That the abilities and broadened faculties of some men require more costly surroundings, and consequently a greater supply of wealth than others, is entirely true. Some are satisfied with next to nothing and with simple existence, while others desire and strive for a liberal portion of material comforts. While these extremes are visible everywhere, it is also true that where wants are few the ability to secure is meager, and where the needs are many the ability to supply them, if normal conditions exist, is not wanting. Indeed, it is, as a rule, easier for the gifted to supply their greater needs than for the ignorant and apathetic to secure bare necessities.

How shall we supply these actual and uniform needs of all, and also make it possible for special merit to receive its special rewards? A division of property would solve the problem exactly. Everybody would then be assured actual necessities. And those who possess talent, or ability, or special energy would have all the advantages of a good start and a fair opportunity. The world would increase in wants and it would be able and willing to pay for them. He who rendered the highest service or gave the most would secure the greatest reward.

The most radical champion of inequalities, if he be sincere, must admit that they should mean special merit or the lack of it, and that, as far as possible, all should start from a common level. When riches are the result of favor without merit it is a public reproach, and poverty that is due to lack of opportunity is a public disgrace.

With a few exceptions, the present great accumulations of wealth do not represent any special services to the race. They have been inherited or else obtained through a bold and determined struggle to get rich regardless of the claims of others. Financiering has become a high art. The old-fashioned way of getting rich by long devotion to some legitimate business is becoming obsolete. It has become a matter of chance—the prize to the man who wins. As a class the rich possess no extraordinary qualities of mind, talent, or character.

The prevailing mad rush for gain not only crushes the ignorant and indifferent into despair, but it embarrasses all who are not specially gifted at money-making. Men can be found everywhere who have marked abilities and brilliant intellects and who are capable of the highest usefulness, but who, on account of perverted industry, are forced to eke out an existence struggling against the privations of poverty. They are not good financiers. Many of these men are the salt of the earth. They have large souls and warm hearts, but their noble impulses and power to achieve and bless their age are swallowed up in a struggle for bread.

Those who uphold existing inequalities never carry their reasoning to its logical conclusions. If existing conditions are just and desirable, it follows that the rich are those deserving riches and the poor are those deserving poverty. It implies that millionaires have simply reaped their just reward and that the poor have encountered their legitimate portion. This theory also declares that the wealth of the country in the possession of the few is where it benefits humanity most, and that the masses are better provided for and more contented than they would be if each possessed a reasonable amount of property. It includes the belief that neglected childhood, forsaken age, and industrial bondage are a necessary characteristic of civilization, and that the tyranny of despotism and the oppression of heathenish slavery are natural and commendable if operated under a new form and clothed in a modern garb.

A divide-up and start-even would not, therefore, mean equality socially, intellectually, or even financially. It would simply remove unjust and unnatural inequalities now prevailing, and make it possible for more natural and legitimate inequalities to occur. It would, to the fullest degree, give all a fair start and abridge the highest possibilities of no one. It would place no man in a strait-jacket, and all would be free.

The adoption of the measure would be in full harmony with the scientific fact that all men are created equal, and in certain respects the needs of all are uniform, and the equally important fact that in actual life men show a great diversity of powers and talents, and some require wider

fields of action than others and deserve special measures of reward.

One of the first lessons a divide-up would teach is that riches and the lack of it have caused false standards to prevail, and that genuine worth of intellect, of ability, and of character have not received just recognition. The rich are now our special dictators. They dominate in society, in business, in the Church. Money is power and influence, and those who possess it are catered to and consulted, and their opinions and advice are accepted as the wisdom of the age.

Should a division of property be made and all be forced to start from the same general level, new and natural qualities would divide men into classes. Genuine ability and worth would lead men to position and power. The best doctor or preacher would get the best pay. The most useful man would secure the best income. The fittest, and not the richest, would attain to eminence. Men would cease to own each other, and the "boss" who now has nothing but a "barrel" with which to gain popular favor would become a political relic. When officials who were honest, instead of professional politicians, should rule in office; when teachers, instead of fossils, should shape public opinion; when patriots, instead of puppets, should make our laws—these officials and teachers and patriots would be the favored among men.

Those filling high positions in politics and enterprise would then be the servants, not the masters, of the many. Now one man employs, dictates to, or discharges at will a score, a hundred, a thousand; but under the new conditions a score, or a hundred, or a thousand would choose their rulers and leaders. While the many would be, individually, under the authority of one, the one would, in return, be subject to the united will of the many. Inequalities would continue to exist and develop, but they would, more than now, represent natural qualities of mind and character and be the legitimate result of natural causes. Instead of class distinction regulated by property and money, mankind would be measured by just levels—by talent, by special gifts, by mental endowments, by ability, and by other legitimate forces with which life is so pregnant.

A merry heart doeth good like a medicine.—SOLOMON.

He sings of Brotherhood, and joy and peace,  
Of days when jealousies and hate shall cease;  
When war shall die, and man's progressive mind  
Soar unfettered as its God designed.

—MACKAY.

We cannot be happy but in the society of one another; and from one another we daily receive, or may receive, important services. These conditions recommend the great duty of universal benevolence, which is not more beneficial to others than to ourselves; for it makes us happy in our own minds and amiable in the eyes of all who know us; it even promotes bodily health, and it prepares the soul for every virtuous impression; while malevolent passions debase the understanding, harden the heart, and make a man disagreeable to others and a torment to himself.—JAMES BEATTIE.

What we have most to desire is to make our countrymen think.—WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

The worst charge that can be made against a Christian is that he attempts to justify the existing social order.—GEORGE D. HERRON.

If you suffer the poor to grow up as animals they may chance to become wild beasts and rend you.—DANTON.

A religion of effortless adoration may be a religion for an angel, but never for a man. Not in the contemplative, but in the active, lies true hope; not in rapture, but in reality, lies true life; not in the realms of ideals, but among tangible things, is man's sanctification wrought.—DRUMMOND.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## SOCIAL ADVANTAGE OF A DIVIDE-UP.

WERE a divide-up of property to take place, it would give opportunity to recast society and organize a *system of culture* whereby social and ethical training would become a part of our national life. This is one of the country's greatest needs. Our social life at present is little less than chaos.

Man's higher nature is a trinity, a blending of *the intellectual, social, and moral*. The intellectual and the moral are provided for, but the social nature—the central element of our make-up—is left to shift for itself.

The *intellectual* is provided for chiefly by the public school. Our common school system is supposed to give every child in the nation opportunity to gain at least the rudiments of an education. Nearly 500,000 teachers are employed and paid from the public treasury of States and counties, and three-fourths of all children of school age are enrolled as pupils. School-houses are found everywhere, and, including colleges, our educational system is one of the most thoroughly organized and universally supported forces in the country.

The *moral nature* of mankind is provided for by the Church and its auxiliaries. Nearly 100,000 ministers face from 20,000,000 to 40,000,000 of our people every Sunday in the year to dispense moral and spiritual truths. Over 10,000,000 scholars are taught by over 1,000,000 teachers in our Sunday-schools. Auxiliaries of various kinds are operated and supported by millions of faithful men, women, and children. Churches are located everywhere and represent every shade of belief. While entirely divorced from politics and from the state, the Church, not only as a national, but as a world-wide institution, shows that cohesive affinities are not only strong, but universally prevalent among the race.

But the *social nature* is neglected. No concrete effort ever attempts to hold mankind together socially. When children quit school no further intellectual training is, as a rule, ever thought of. They are turned into the street. Not only the Church, but all organizations must search for their recruits among the highways and hedges.

Between the school and the Church there is a wide social chasm—an uncultivated but essential field of real life. Social and ethical culture, except to a favored few, must be caught on the fly. Recreation is a mere matter of chance. Amusements are dealt out haphazard. Fun is an accident. Entertainment is an unknown quantity. Sports are social renegades and money-making schemes.

The social field has become the resort of all kinds of invaders. In the sweet name of charity wealth will enter the social field, and, dressed in diamonds and *décolleté*, dance itself giddy. In the name of art vulgarity will prate in tinsel and transparent gauze to win a livelihood. In the name of religion really good people will pitch their tent in the social field and with shady financial schemes liquidate antiquated church debts. Theaters are run by syndicates, the chief aim of which is to declare big dividends. Lectures and entertainments are furnished to make money. Music is dealt out like ribbons or muslin, at so much per yard.

*There is an imperative demand that society become organized.* It has too long been driven hither and thither, a constant temptation to the good and a destroying environment to the bad. Too long have talent and genius been permitted to rust and indifference and ignorance to die in their own obscurity and darkness.

*During a division of property all theaters, opera-houses, music-halls, and other buildings used solely for entertainment purposes would become public property.* In addition, in every city a number of magnificent private residences, with costly furniture and paintings, would also be added to the public possessions. These buildings could be made to fill a most valuable mission by becoming the nucleus of a systematic social organization. Under such a system they would become public theaters, opera-houses, music-halls, libraries, reading-rooms, gymnasiums, art gal-

leries, and schools of art, science, music, and other special branches. They would become a public institution. It might well be called *the public culture system*.

Such a system could be organized and operated with the greatest facility. It would require that all large cities be divided into districts, similar to school or political districts, and that counties be divided so that each town would be the center of its surrounding territory. Trustees or local committees could be elected in the same manner as school trustees and town officials. County and state officers could be elected or appointed the same as other state officials. A national board, composed of one member from each state, could have a general oversight of the entire country.

When officers were duly elected it would become their duty to assume control of all property set apart for social purposes, the same as school trustees now control school buildings and grounds. It would also be their duty to co-operate with other boards, through county and state officers, to secure to the people entertainments, amusements, and lectures, the services of special talent, and other social advantages such as the locality and people should demand.

The operation of such a system would mean the employment of all the best talent, of every description, in the nation. Every actor and actress, every artistic company of entertainers of respectable merit, every elocutionist, singer, or musician that should come up to a required standard would thus find steady employment. Lecturers upon every subject would be in demand, and those who could entertain, or amuse, or specially instruct would be in constant service.

While such a system would be distinct from the common school, there are no reasons why the two could not, to some extent coöperate. There are many subjects which require special study and which the average teacher must entirely neglect. Under such a system, persons devoted to special branches of study could be employed to go from town to town teaching a single subject.

In this way not only could the young be taught important branches now entirely neglected, but the people at large could gain from experts a great variety of knowledge which now is practically inaccessible to them.

Lectures on various scientific subjects, business, politics, health, and social culture, and illustrated lectures upon various topics would be brought within the reach of almost every one.

When such a system should cover our entire nation, as the school system does, it would mean that every section of large cities and every town would be supplied with buildings and equipments essential to the work involved. Every town would have its public hall, public library, gymnasium, reading-rooms, and other buildings as the system developed.

As our school system is supported in part by the state and in part by local taxation, so could a system of public culture be aided partly by state appropriations, and this supplemented by local taxation, and by tuition and admission fees from those who should make use of its benefits.

The advantages of such a system would not be limited to securing the dissemination of amusements, recreation, and social culture over the entire country, but it would weed out the demoralizing, the vicious, and the vulgar. While private enterprises would not be prohibited, it would naturally follow that every meritorious company or entertainer would prefer the force of official approval and the salary that would be assured within the organized system. There are no reasons why every desirable entertainer now in the field could not be continued, and instead of promiscuous engagements, under vicarious auspices and large expenses, well-ordered circuits could be arranged and an entire state covered systematically. Thousands of persons, representing every phase of talent and covering every branch of science, art, learning, and industry, could thus be kept employed, going from city to city and from town to town, entertaining and instructing the people.

Under such a system local talent could be utilized to the fullest. Not only would every district have its public halls, libraries, reading-rooms, and other buildings, but it would be the duty of official boards to encourage musical, literary and other entertainments, debates, social gatherings, games, out-of-door sports, excursions, and everything that would develop and strengthen the social character.

Brass bands and musical associations, both instrumental and vocal, could be organized and become extremely helpful to the social life. Public parks and playgrounds would become a part of all cities and towns. State and county exhibitions could be held annually in the interests of agriculture and commerce, with the idea of dividends to stockholders eliminated.

Society could thus be made a factor incalculable for good. The social element is the cohesive force which binds men together. Friendship is a master passion. The millennium, when it visits earth, will be social in its chief features. The coming society will be scientific, educational, democratic, coöperative, fraternal, and religious. It will not only acknowledge, but adopt the universal brotherhood of man, and bring together in active and reciprocal harmony the various diversities of gifts and abilities for mutual benefit. Society touches the most impressionable side of man's nature, and it is the chief factor in uplifting or degrading mankind. Within the realms of society is more of pleasure and profit than can be found anywhere else. It is not the leaves or garb of civilization, as too many believe, but it is civilization itself.

The practical value of an organized system of social culture cannot be too strongly pressed. Its benefits would be varied, far-reaching, and sure. As the objectionable and demoralizing would at once be condemned, the theater, the opera, and the playhouse and public resort would not only become places of amusement, but of instruction as well. Under such a system one evening's entertainment each week would be easily placed within reach of 40,000,000 people. It could embrace every form of entertainment and social instruction and be an actual normal education. If 100,000 persons, representing every form of talent and every branch of knowledge, were so employed, at an average annual salary of \$4,000 each, it would cost only \$10 per year to each of those securing benefits. Over \$200,000,000 is spent annually in this country on the theater. Much of this supports the wildest form of waste. Six star actors, it is claimed, were paid \$1,600,000 for their services during six months. This is over \$250,000 for each, or more than \$10,000 per week. It is acknowl-

edged by competent judges that the American stage was never so depraved and vulgar as it is to-day, and this depravity is too often the winning card and the feature brandished most to gain success. If the above sum was systematically spent, what a revolution would ensue. It would support 80,000 actors and actresses at a salary of \$5,000 each. Under the new order of things the stage would become a field for genuine talent and art and the theater a wholesome and ennobling part of our social life. Under such a system billiards and various other games now objectionable on account of their associations could be made both elevating and desirable. What nobler or more useful mission could the gorgeous grandeurs of modern theaters and the magnificent palaces of the rich perform than to become the basis of an organized system of public culture? Their stately walls and attractive surroundings would shed a new light; their magnificent interiors and costly furnishings would breathe a new life. They would add genuine glory to the nation's greatness.

Such an innovation cannot be considered as a mere experiment. That such a system is needed is self-evident. That it would succeed and become not only a permanent, but a constantly increasing factor in our social and political life cannot be questioned. The practical utility of such a system is already demonstrated upon every side. That 15,000,000 children attend our public schools five days each week; that some 30,000,000 people attend church every Sunday; that over 5,000,000 men are voluntary members of fraternal organizations; that our country is now a vast social network embracing a legion of diversified interests, is all evidence of the mutual and correlative nature of our social life. The success of the "university extension," the Chautauqua system of education, and other similar movements show the practicability of systematic and organized effort in the intellectual and social field.

As all railroads during the divide-up would become public property, traveling would naturally become a prominent medium of education and social development. Travel would be cheap and its benefits within reach of almost every one. A train of twelve or twenty cars, furnishing accommodations for several hundred people, could be run at a

comparatively small daily expense. Five hundred persons could travel for six weeks, have board and sleeping accommodations, and cover more than 10,000 miles, moving eight hours per day, at an expense not exceeding \$60 each. As a train can be run for less than \$50 per day, such an excursion need not cost over \$10 for each person for travel alone. To travel 10,000 miles now costs not far from \$200.

Excursions embracing, in a general way, the entire country could be made in the interest of various professions and occupations, and not only could such travels be cheaply made, but they could be pleasant and profitable in the extreme. A national board of public culture could easily arrange special excursions for various occupations and interests, and in this way would be thrown together, for travel, investigation, and social intercourse, companies of teachers, ministers, doctors, lawyers, literary men, farmers, stock-raisers, fruit-growers, architects, mechanics, merchants, public officials, artists, musicians, and others representing special departments of thought and enterprise. Each excursion could be arranged so that points of greatest interest to those participating could be reached. The educational value of such a measure is almost without limit. What could be more profitable and desirable to a fruit-grower, a stock-raiser, or a teacher than a six weeks' trip in company with hundreds of others similarly interested, visiting various parts of the country and investigating the best methods and products to be seen in each?

Not only could such excursions be arranged in the interests of various occupations, but in like manner students in our schools and colleges could supplement their studies by systematic travel. Indeed, an extended and wisely arranged season of travel might well be added to the curriculum of all institutions of learning. With certain exceptions book learning is, at best, second-hand information. No education can be complete and no mind can be developed in the highest sense to which the experiences and benefits of travel have been denied. With such concessions as would follow the government ownership of railroads, six or eight weeks of travel, in connection with a college course, would not materially increase the general expense. The experience would not only relieve the mo-

notony of college life, but it would broaden the intellect and develop the faculties of thought.

As a system of public culture developed tours could be arranged reaching to all parts of the globe. Excursions for students and others interested could be made around the earth at small cost. By companies of several hundred persons trains and steamers could be chartered and trips made around the world, including the chief points of interest in the circuit, at an expense of from \$100 to \$200 each. The advantages of such a programme are beyond conception. Not only would those participating receive a benefit, but the light of American civilization would be carried to other lands. It would be sowing good seed broadcast over the earth. It would be practical missionary work that would surely bring forth a rich harvest. It is entirely reasonable to believe that such travels, systematically arranged, would receive an immense patronage and continue as a permanent feature of progress.

Let no one belittle the suggestions here made. They are not theories. They are not fanciful visions. They are possibilities that we are trampling under our feet. Let us believe that God has a higher and broader mission for steam and electric power, for railroads and steamships, than they have yet filled. When these things are liberated from the thralldom of mammonism they will rapidly multiply in application and usefulness.

Not only would a division of property give opportunity to organize society, but many social abuses could be abolished. Extremes of wealth and poverty have done more injury in the social realm than anywhere else. Nowhere else are people so stratified into classes. It is in the social field that men test the character of each other. In no other realm is the real inwardness of man's nature so transparent or so exposed to view.

The new conditions would revolutionize the exercise of what are now termed charity, benevolence, and philanthropy. As a benefactor of the race, modern philanthropy scarcely deserves the name. The injury it inflicts counteracts much, if not all, of the good.

In large donations over \$80,000,000 are now annually given for benevolent purposes in our country. Such dona-

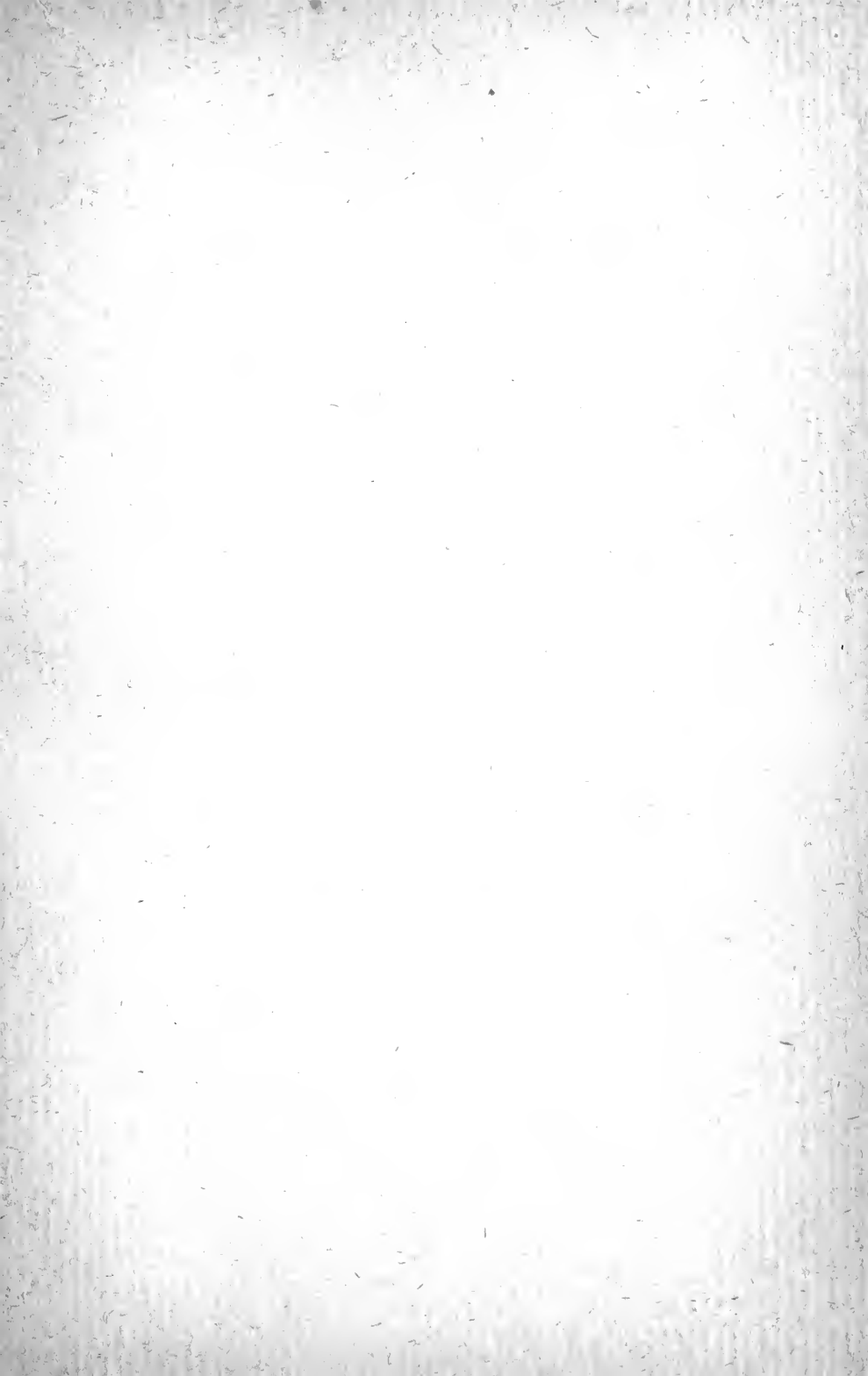
tions are rapidly on the increase. Although much of it is prayerfully and thoughtfully given, the larger part of it actually benefits none. Says the eminent Dr. George F. Shrady regarding a very popular form of charity: "In New York alone there are 116 dispensaries, each one of which is vying with the others in propagating the worst form of pauperism. . . . There would not be any danger of the really poor suffering if half the hospitals and two-thirds of the dispensaries were closed to-morrow. No millionaire anxious to fit the camel to the eye of the needle and quiet his conscience by lending to the Lord need worry because the dispensaries may suffer for want of necessary funds. As it is, the thrift of one class now ministers to the improvidence of the other. The anodyne which quiets the conscience of the giver paralyzes the soul of the taker."

Andrew Carnegie, himself a recognized philanthropist, is quoted as being of the opinion that out of every \$1,000 given in charity \$950 do harm. Philanthropy and charity, as a rule, perpetuate the very evils they are intended to cure. And they deserve such a fate. To give all we have to feed the poor may profit nothing. Indeed, it may do a great injury. To help the poor from one hand and deny them a chance to help themselves with the other, as too many rich people do, is not charity. Such almsgiving is bigotry crimson with crime. It tends to sap the force and fiber of manhood and make indolence and pauperism a perpetual doom.

Philanthropists should take to heart the words of Tolstoi, who says: "If I wish to help the poor I must not be the cause of their poverty." Men cannot ride to wealth upon the backs of their fellow-men and make atonement by supporting soup-houses and mission Sunday-schools or building colleges and hospitals.

Millions of dollars are annually given to churches, colleges, and other public institutions by rich men, the results of which are far from an unmixed blessing. The effect too often seen is that the pulpit is muzzled and the college curriculum biased to gratify the political or religious whims of their supporters. Young men have for years been a choice attraction for philanthropy, and not

only colleges, but libraries, gymnasiums, and other buildings have been erected and endowed for their benefit. Yet nothing under the skies is so able to care for itself as a young man. What young men need is not alms, but opportunity; not help, but responsibility; not endowments which palsy the energies, but a road, wide enough for all, leading to success; a field in which all can dig, a place in which all can be useful, a mission in the world for each one to fill.



When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice;  
but when the wicked beareth rule the people mourn.—SOLO-  
MON.

Higher—as opening up a loftier line;  
Holier—as springing from a deeper root;  
For *love to God* may be pronounced *divine*  
When *love to man* becomes its genuine fruit.

—BARTON.

If you do not wish for His kingdom, don't pray for it;  
but if you do, you must do more than pray for it; you must  
work for it.—JOHN RUSKIN.

Yes; the world wants the best thing—your best—and she  
will smite you stealthily if you do not hand over your gift.—  
FRANCES E. WILLARD.

The New Testament teems with passages inculcating peace,  
brotherly love, mutual forbearance, charity, disregard for  
filthy lucre, and devotedness to the welfare of our fellow-  
men.—JOHN BRIGHT.

Oh! into what a blissful scene might this ruin of a world  
yet be transformed were covetousness thoroughly subdued, and  
were only those who profess to be Christians to come forth  
with unanimity and lay down their superfluous treasures at  
the foot of the cross.—THOMAS DICK.

If shipwreck should ever befall your country, the rock upon  
which it will split will be your devotion to your private inter-  
ests at the expense of your duty to the state.—KOSSUTH.

Remove but the single element of distrust, and who does  
not see that the great cause of human wretchedness would be  
taken away?—MARK HOPKINS.

Professions pass for nothing with the experienced when  
connected with a practice that flatly contradicts them.—COOPER.

## CHAPTER XV.

## A DIVIDE-UP AND CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP.

At the Presidential election in 1896 there were 13,923,643 votes cast. Each one of these represented an American citizen. If the rate of increase that has marked the past continues, in 1900 there will be 16,000,000 voters in the nation. The laws and the liberties of the republic are vested in these men.

The overwhelming majority of these citizens have honest hearts and sincerely desire those things which best promote the welfare of all the people. Although representing almost every shade of religious belief and every nationality, in politics we all meet upon a common level. We all bring, or should bring, to the realm of citizenship our patriotism and Christian character, and the general level of political and governmental actions depends upon the nature of our united influence as individual citizens.

It is unavoidably true that in a country like ours man has two distinct sets of duties—*those which he owes to himself and his own and those which he owes to society and the state.*

While the home, the school, and the Church have been diligent in teaching individual and private duties, public duties have been constantly neglected. Our schoolmasters are permitted to know nothing of politics. Our strife and calumny, the bias and deception of political contentions form the school in which political sentiments are moulded and in which political convictions are crystallized.

Contrary to the common impression, it is in our public duties rather than in our private duties that we are recreant. The evils resulting from neglect of public or political duties are far-reaching and disastrous. When public duties are neglected or public actions are corrupt, injurious recoil is made upon every phase of life. Not

only the nation, but the family and the individual suffer inflictions. It is the ruling force in the realm of state which brings prosperity or ruin upon a people. "When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule the people mourn." Our public and private relations are interdependent. If we are faithful in both the performance of either is made easy. If we ignore either the faithful performance of the other becomes impossible.

No matter how perfect and wedded to ideals a government may be, when public duties are neglected public virtue begins at once to yield to public vice. The real and ideal immediately sever companionship and grow apart. The real gradually but surely becomes organic and deep-seated, while the ideal grows extraneous and remote. The real is soon established by all of that which is; the ideal must roam amid theories of that which ought to be. As time goes on the real, no matter how deplorable, passes beyond correction; the ideal, no matter how intensely desirable, passes beyond reach. Finally the real becomes an established fact; the ideal a visionary dream.

Failure to perform our duties as citizens has not been willful, but has come through want of diligence. We have lacked courage rather than motive. We have desired and prayed for better things than we have been willing to work for. The popular heart has longed for a new era, but the yearning has not materialized into action. Protestant, Catholic, and Jew have stood around the national altars and desired to drop within the sacred urn a united petition for better laws and happier homes, but they have not been bold enough to free themselves from the domination of wealth and the bossism of political machines. Thus it is that the miseries and oppressions which prevail are due chiefly to the derelictions of our best citizens. They have allowed themselves to be betrayed. They have been satisfied simply to desire good laws when duty demanded that they make them and enforce obedience to them. In short, good people have been the passive and not the active element in politics.

That the country has suffered on account of political sin is sure evidence that either corrupt or incapable men rule.

Genuine statesmanship has not had charge of the affairs of state. History establishes no fact more certainly than that when worthy and able men rule, prosperity, peace, and progress invariably follow. But for two decades, under the alternating administrations of the great political parties, our industrial and commercial interests have steadily become more and more unstable. Our political officials have hindered rather than favored progress. They have been more interested in political jobbery than in the enactment of wholesome laws. During these years the corruptions of the ballot-box have constantly increased and the true interests of the people have been less and less regarded. The very things that we have been endeavoring to remedy for twenty years have gradually grown worse. Crime has multiplied; labor has grown dependent; the consumption of liquor has increased; the poor have become more fated and the rich have grown richer at a rate unparalleled in the history of the world.

These things have occurred because patriotism and Christian character have not dominated in the realms of citizenship. The lesson must be learned over again that men owe their noblest and strongest virtues to their country. Christian principles and political rectitude are inseparable. Into these wedded relations God has incorporated laws and truths to which not only the lives of men, but public policies and political actions must conform. To bear fruit in political affairs is a chief mission of religion. Said Washington after forty years of public life: "Of all the things which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports." For many years religion and science wrestled for the dominion of truth, only to awake, like Jacob and the angel, to find themselves friends and co-workers at the dawn of a new day. So it must be in the conflicts between Christian citizenship and politics—they must become a unit and a single and mutual force in the cause of right.

For years discontent, due to poverty and oppression in a multitude of forms, has been appealing to existing political parties and to legislative powers for needed help. With rare exceptions it has pleaded in vain. While political bosses have fattened upon spoils and organized

mammonism has pocketed its millions through special privileges bought with bribes, the people have waited patiently and long for justice that died in its early promise and for blessings not yet seen.

While it is true that the Christian and moral element has, more than any other, neglected its political duties, it is also true that of all the victims of vicious laws and corrupt legislation, Christianity and morality have been the greatest. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap;" and this principle applies not only to men and moral conduct, but to beliefs, doctrines, religion, politics, and social customs.

Christianity as men see it has been a coward. By allowing politicians to betray the interests of the people it has itself suffered an incalculable loss. By being disloyal to the people Christianity has lost its power over them. The Church as an influence among the masses of mankind has become almost impotent. A large part of our population do not even seriously consider the subject of religion. It is a truth, as startling as it is stupendous, that there are millions of men, representing the very cream of American manhood, who have so little regard for that which claims to be Christianity that they do not consider it worthy of a hearing. Not more than forty men in a hundred go to church at all, and not one-half of these are interested in its work. Reaching the masses has become a lost art. It takes twenty Christians a whole year to secure a new recruit, and in most instances this new member is a child brought up under Christian influences, and it is much oftener a passive girl than an active boy. It was claimed that there were 3,000 churches of one denomination that failed to secure a single convert during an entire year. Several of the leading denominations are almost at a standstill. Yet the Church was never more active or earnest or the pulpit more able. But its influence upon the world outside of its traditional followers is deplorably weak.

There is a reason for this lack of vital force in the Church. When the same conditions are so uniform, widespread, and conspicuous, the cause should certainly be of a nature to be seen and recognized. While there are many

influences which operate and coöperate against the Church—and the inherent rebellion in man's nature is not to be overlooked—there is one overshadowing cause of this estrangement on the part of mankind from the Church and religious influences. The chief cause is found in politics—Christianity has neglected its political duties. Instead of standing immovable against wrong and corruption, it weakly compromises its principles and cowers before the powers of mammonism.

Paul said: "If any provideth not for his own \* \* \* he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." A means of livelihood is a means of grace. More than this, it is an essential factor in the domination of faith. Christianity has neglected the material welfare, and as a result faith is denied mankind. Poverty, want, wage-earning, and lack of natural opportunities have placed a gulf between the masses and the power to believe. Faith is denied them. The salt of the earth has lost its savor, the light has vanished into darkness, and the witnessing power of Christianity stands as though it were dumb before the world.

To the sincere student of men and their material and spiritual relations no truth can be more apparent. There are millions of men in our nation, it is logical to believe, who are victims of this outrageous wrong.

Without faith we are nothing. And none knew this better than the Apostle Paul. Upon the subject of faith he was the world's greatest authority. What Wilberforce was to liberty, Blackstone to law, or Webster to the Constitution, Paul was to the nature and power of faith. And he taught the fact that to be robbed of the necessities of life was to be deprived of the ability to believe. He never plead more earnestly than when presenting the claims of the poor, and of none did he boast so publicly as of those who were bountiful toward the needy.

Nearly 1,000,000 sons go out as young men into the world every year from the firesides of our nation. Only a few of these are provided for in the true sense. Most of them start with nothing. Their opportunities are meager and too often a myth. Many of them see nothing ahead but vicissitude and struggle. As they mingle with the world they meet thousands of men whose brightest

possibilities have been blighted. Men who have grown prematurely old in the struggle for bread are seen upon every side. The young men are forced to join the ever-increasing army of wage-earners, the majority of whom are unwilling and discontented slaves to corporate greed and subject to the whims and caprice of arbitrary and dogmatic authority. They soon realize that they are a subordinate part of creation. They associate with men whose moral and spiritual natures have been corrupted by vicious habits, whose intellects have been dwarfed by slavish servitude and privation, and whose natural and manly ambitions are crushed and dead.

Moreover, it is the inherent desire of every healthy, sensible young man to get married and settle down. Next to religion this is the noblest, as it is the most precious, impulse of the soul. It is the one pure attribute that survived, spotless and holy, the sin of Eden. If these natural and God-ordained hopes of becoming a husband and father and the loved and honored head of a home and fireside must, on account of poverty and the denial of inherent rights to the abundant resources of God's foot-stool, be crushed within the bosom, as thousands of young men are forced to crush them, the sweetest and highest in man is blighted and broken beyond repair.

Millions of men in the midst of these things see wealth living in luxury, and Christianity, infatuated by its sumptuous array, courting its smile and support, while toward the struggling poor it is exclusive and indifferent. These conditions prevail almost everywhere, and the results are inevitable. When man is forsaken by man he soon feels forsaken by God, and when Christianity ceases to be alive, active, and earnest in its devotions to humanity, disbelief spreads broadcast like a pestilence. Thus betrayed, the spirit in man is crushed and he turns his back upon the Church. Religion becomes to him a jargon of mockeries, the Bible a myth, and Christianity a delusion and a sham.

It is often asserted that men have as good chances now as they ever had. This is not true. In the first place, legitimate needs and actual necessities have greatly multiplied. And these needs are rapidly and inevitably increasing. The legion of new inventions and comforts that

modern genius has produced and is now inventing are a natural result of progressive civilization. They fill a real want and come to stay. It would be as possible to return to ox-carts and homespun as to abandon modern comforts and customs. These things were not brought to light to be hated and spurned, but to be used and enjoyed. And they were not intended for the few, but for everybody.

Children are more costly than formerly. They require better clothes, better food, and better training. A much higher grade of education is imperative. Social and religious advantages are more expensive. Homes cost more than they did. It requires more knowledge, more influence, and more capital to enter business. In a multitude of ways the pathway to success of the modern young man is hedged about with difficulties. And an insurmountable obstacle is that many lines of industry are absorbed by the monopolies, trusts, and syndicates, a part of whose business it is to crush every new recruit that shows his head in conflict with their interests. It is also true that the prizes called success have grown too great in size and too few in number, making it impossible for more than one man in a great number to reach the goal.

It was the intended mission of Christian citizenship to prevent or overcome all of these things. It is its bounden duty to correct them. Every man, in his inherent nature, demands a visible chance in the world. It should not be a fake, or a false hope, or a race in which a legion must enter and only a few win. It is essential for his own best interests that man see a pathway to the realization of his highest possibilities; that he not only be active, but useful; that the possession of a home be possible; that his family be a comfort rather than a burden; that his fireside be a place of plenty and possible contentment, and not a constant prey for the wolf of want; that social, educational, and religious advantages all be within reach; and that old age bring no thought of dependence or neglect. Until, to a reasonable degree, all of these things are possible to every one of the great army of toilers, whether they be on the farm or in the store, the office, the studio, the mine, or the factory, Christian citizenship cannot claim that it has done its duty in the realm of politics, nor can it expect

that the masses will listen to the Gospel it professes to believe and is wont to preach.

A recreant and cowardly Christianity has not only denied the masses the power to believe, but it has dethroned faith generally. Men have lost confidence in religion, in politics, in business, in each other, and in themselves. The injury thus wrought has been incalculable. "Public faith is the philosophy of politics and the religion of governments." "A lack of public faith," said the eminent Fisher Ames, "would not merely demoralize mankind; it tends to break all the ligaments of society, to dissolve that mysterious charm which attracts individuals to the nation, and to inspire, in its stead, a repulsive sense of shame and disgust." Confidence is a higher faculty than reason, and when it is lost man is only half alive. We are strong or weak, courageous or timid, a success or a failure, according to the amount of our faith. Faith is not a vain expectancy, but the substance of things hoped for. Business is regulated by it. Panics and bankruptcies are chiefly a collapse of confidence. Commercial and financial apostasy—public disbelief—has for years prevailed in our country like a pestilence. It has swept over the land, and in the midst of plentiful harvests and material abundance it has blighted homes, and broken hearts, and forced poverty and disaster upon the people to an extent only surpassed by the carnage of war. What the country needs most is not more resources and industries, more sunshine and rain, or greater enterprise and wealth, but more faith—faith in God, faith in man, faith in life and in the power of effort; a faith that rests upon a rock, a foundation upon which all men can stand upright and invincible, and, encouraged by all that assurance can inspire, realize that their highest success is unhindered and that their best efforts are sure of reward.

By neglecting its political and public duties Christianity has also brought reproach upon itself. Disbelief and disrespect have entered its sanctuaries and polluted its altars. For a full decade the Church has been a chief target for ridicule and reproach. This has not come from demagogues and infidels, but it has been the voice of a quickened conscience arousing into action a cowardly and apos-

tate Church. In the press and from the platform anathemas, fired by holy zeal, are hurled at its very vitals. Christianity in its worship is beautiful, and in its devotion to ceremony it is almost faultless. But in politics it is a turncoat and a renegade. Men who are immaculate on Sunday are, from all appearances, emissaries of perdition in a political campaign. In church they are at their best and parade in pious decorum; in politics they are at their worst and wallow in filth. In the realm of politics, to the average observer, there is not much difference between the good and the bad, saints and sinners, the sheep and the goats. Piety and rottenness bribe with each other's boodle, vote the same ticket, and gloat over the same victories.

In the Church religion grows beautiful flowers, but from the ballot-box the world learns of its fruits. In the higher councils of the Church heated conflicts over politics have for years been waged, yet few real victories have been won. It has been strong in resolves, but treacherous in action. It has wasted its day of political grace, only to find itself weakened and blinded by the darkness of a dead faith. Evangelists and pastors find it necessary to spend their energies on the professedly saved. Religious books and periodicals make it their mission to prevent the saved from getting lost rather than to teach the lost how to be saved. Indeed, the general trend of religious effort is to abandon the world and its wickedness and revive and arouse into action the dormant and moribund spirituality which gathers about its altars for worship. Well has Dr. Strong said: "If the Church refuses to save society she will fail to save herself, because she will fail to adapt herself to changed conditions. During the Christian era she has already made several important readjustments, and if she is to continue to live she must make another."

As the influence of Christian citizenship begins with the individual, so in its results it ends where it begins—with the man himself. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that also shall he reap." Christianity has passively sown political corruption and it has borne its natural fruits. It has not only denied the people faith, but it is robbing itself of the power to practice the Golden Rule. By being a stumbling-block to others men have hedged their own

pathway. He who has not observed that the ability to practice the Golden Rule in the best sense has been gradually undermined and placed beyond reach of the average individual, has not kept his eyes open. Legions of men dependent upon wages feel obliged to sacrifice moral principle in order to supply their families with bread. Business men find that there is a Baal to whom they must bow, or suffer the fires of opposition and ultimate defeat. The realm of industry has become depraved and the channels of enterprise corrupt and crooked. The individual has become a slave to the powers that be. The useful and humane features of business have been largely swallowed up in the idea of money-making. The various branches of business, under the reign of trusts and syndicates, are like so many financial empires ruled by despots. Their scepter of power is absolute and their kindness or tyranny is a matter of whim.

The laws of cause and effect are inexorable, and they apply not only to life and nature, but to the actions and character of men. Nothing is more certain than that, with the average man, rectitude of life requires proper and contributing surroundings. Said Henry Drummond, one of the deepest thinkers of our time: "The development of any organism in any direction is dependent upon its environments. A living cell cut off from air will die. A seed-germ apart from moisture and appropriate temperature will make the ground its grave for centuries. Human nature, likewise, is subject to similar conditions. It can only develop in presence of its proper environment. No matter what its possibilities may be, no matter what seeds of thought or virtue, what germs of genius (art lie latent in the breast, until that appropriate environment presents itself the correspondence is denied, the development is discouraged, the most splendid possibilities of life remain unrealized, and thought and virtue, genius and art are dead."

And what is true of the natural and spiritual world is equally true of the realms of politics and business. When political actions become corrupt, few are the men who can withstand the debasing influence in which they are obliged to move. When the channels of business are polluted by unscrupulous or inordinate greed, men by the legion feel

forced to resort to methods which their consciences condemn and which they inwardly despise. Not only are wage-earners and the poor made slaves, but merchants, manufacturers, professional men, and even capitalists are finding that liberty and free-will have taken flight, and that they live in an environment infamous in nature and arbitrary in power. While we are boasting of our liberties and material progress, we are threatened with a political and industrial tyranny as despotic as that which cursed Rome under the iron heel of the Cæsars.

Christianity is at an extremity. A crisis confronts the courage and conscience of men. An imperative duty, long neglected, faces the individual citizen. It is not reasonable to expect Christianity to spread or the Church to attract the masses or its members to live lives of rectitude until private and public life—character and politics—are brought into harmony. It is a travesty upon religion to preach the Gospel to men when its followers, covetous and selfish, have placed a chasm between their fellows and the faith they enjoy, or to pray, "Thy kingdom come" when those who profess to be in the kingdom have lent their influence to deny those outside the common comforts of life.

These are painful charges to thrust in the face of Christianity. But they are more than true. He who will go out into the world and mingle with men and candidly and carefully study the conditions which prevail will witness these perversions as plainly as though they were told in blazing letters across the dome of the sky.

But the present is an occasion of great opportunity. Never did such an inviting conquest face the powers of citizenship. A new epoch is to mark the near future. The character of this epoch is vested in the people. The way is clear. The duty is plain. It consists in crystallizing the Golden Rule and the teachings of Christ into political action.

The Bible is intensely devoted to political questions. In no other source are the duties of good citizenship so vividly and faithfully portrayed. The prophets of the Old Testament were all politicians in the best sense. Its pages teem with political policies, commands, and warnings. The entire Bible insists upon loyalty to country, and upon the

subjects of land and usury, riches and poverty, legislators and laws, employers and employees, slavery and liberty it is comprehensive and explicit.

In the treatment of political subjects the Bible almost invariably centers upon the extremes of wealth and poverty. Avarice has been the contending foe from the beginning. Over no condition of life do so many warnings hang as over riches. With one bold sweep it declares that "the love of money is the root of all evil." If the love is the root, that love gratified must be the tree upon which all evil fruits grow. To become wedded to riches is as much forbidden as was the fruit of the fatal tree in Eden. The rich are admonished to "break off sins by showing mercy to the poor." "For ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses." "What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces and grind the face of the poor?" "He that oppresseth the poor to increase his riches, and he that giveth to the rich, shall surely come to want." "Rob not the poor because they are poor . . . for the Lord will plead their cause and spoil the soul of them that spoiled them." "Go to, now, ye rich men; weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you." "Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord." The Bible as a whole treats of earthly rather than of heavenly things. It has more to say about material than spiritual affairs. Its commands and warnings are closely associated with the human side of life. Its basic teachings are equality and justice among men.

The love that clings to self and ignores others regarding temporal matters cannot be classified as a Christian virtue. Says the beloved Apostle; "But whose hath this world's good, and seeth his brother hath need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him."

The life and teachings of Jesus while upon earth were largely devoted to financial and political duties. Riches were considered by Him a treacherous possession. His sermons, His parables, and His ministrations directly bear upon temporal affairs. One of His cardinal declarations

was: "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." To the rich young man He said: "Lackest thou one thing; sell all that thou hast and distribute unto the poor." Under the influence of His teachings Zaccheus gave one-half of his goods at once to the poor and restored fourfold all his ill-gotten gains. Warning against riches is a central teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. The Lord's Prayer is devoted to the subject of bread, debts, humanity, and earthly things entirely. To pray for an ideal earthly kingdom, for good laws, just conditions, prosperity, and peace, implies that we shall vote, and work, and live for these things as much as we do for bread and shelter. The parable of the rich man and Lazarus gives divine authority to the thought that if the rich fare sumptuously while poverty and suffering are neglected, they deserve not only temporal death, but the eternal fate of the damned. The only glimpse of the judgment revealed to us is the parable of the sheep and the goats. With the sheep upon the right side and the goats upon the left, and amidst a vision of the earth's poor, and hungry, and thirsty, and sick, and outcast, and oppressed, He said to those upon the right side, "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me;" and to those upon the left He said: "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal."

Christ's mission was to save the world, to redeem the earth, to elevate mankind spiritually and temporally, and to bring peace, good-will, and prosperity to the people. His salvation is intended to rescue not only the souls, but the bodies of men; not only individuals, but nations. He came that the Gospel be preached to the poor; that poverty, want, oppression, and degradation be abolished. Common necessities and the good things of life are furnishings of His earthly kingdom. He came to overcome sin and to destroy its ravages; not to save men *in* their sins or *in* their poverty, but *out* of both. To eradicate poverty and misery, injustice and ignorance, is a part of the atonement.

The principle and the practice of the general distribu-

tion of wealth as it prevailed in Canaan for centuries are in full accord with the entire teachings of both the Old and New Testaments. It was a required practice in the dominion of law; it is an imperative principle in the gospel of love. If it is a desirable measure in our country to-day, its execution should meet the approval of every patriotic Christian citizen. "Charge them that are rich in this world . . . that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute," is as binding as the Decalogue or the Apostle's Creed. "Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted; but the rich in that he is made low," are appeals to the grandest and noblest in man. How could it be possible, except through a just and equitable distribution of property, to elevate the poor and destroy the glory and power of riches and fulfill the saying: "He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away"?

American citizenship holds within its grasp the destinies of the future. A new era, to be the grandest the world has seen, is before us. It will be the triumph of man over nature, of right over wrong, of peace over war, of joy over sorrow. In its contemplation mankind is confronted by new duties. Simply to deplore poverty and wrong and *pray* for humanity will no longer avail. Faith, and hope, and love no longer respond to hollow mockeries. EQUALITY is the new signet in the divine seal of human government.

To make a just and universal distribution of property is the only way in which the higher elements of character can be called forth. In no other way can Christian brotherhood show that it loves its neighbor as itself. It is the only thing that will humanize the hearts of the rich or dispel the apathy and abolish the slavery of the poor. Nothing else will so harmonize into action the diversities of gifts and talents of the race. It is the only measure that will satisfy the Golden Rule. Nothing else will so renew the faith of the people and reestablish the influence of Christianity in the land.

Christian citizenship, if it means anything, implies that Christian principles should be the motive force in political affairs. It is not a new religion or a new theology that we

need, but a practical and opportune application of the religion we have. The signs of the times are prophetic of momentous advances in the social and political world. To keep in harmony with modern progress politics must renew its life. Evidently, *God is demanding that not simply individuals, but that our nation and society as a whole must be saved.*

That religion possesses essentials which relate solely to individual experience is entirely true. In a vital sense every one must work out his own salvation and, independent of all else, preserve with loyal fidelity his own attitude toward his Maker. Some may have no duties beyond this personal exercise of hope and faith. But such a religion belongs to the circumscribed and obscure—its scope is limited, its influence passive. Such a religion is not the kind required of strong men, rich in influence and talents and intrusted with the duties of citizenship.

The Christian pictured by Bunyan left his home, his family, his country, and his all, and, single-handed and alone, sought the Celestial City. But religion has outgrown these narrow conceptions. The modern Christian has a more comprehensive mission than this. His responsibility goes beyond self. It includes society and the state. To a remarkable degree man has become his brother's keeper. This was always a principle; it is now a law. To be a citizen is to be more than an individual. The experience sufficient to inspire childhood and comfort weakness and age will not suffice for him who holds the political destiny of the nation within his grasp. The religion that redeems a subject will not save a citizen. Modern progress has united interests and combined forces. Men are no longer isolated units, but vital parts of a complete whole. Christianity is submerged in politics, and the individual Christian is as leaven in the political and social lump. Only by lifting others can he lift himself. Only by being the salt of the earth can he himself be saved. Only by being the light of the world can he illuminate his own pathway. God is demanding that citizenship in the realm of politics shall become a channel of human redemption. The present age gives to Christianity a new mission. Its new duty requires that not only individuals, but **society and the nation shall be saved and blessed.**

Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.—PAUL.

New times demand new measures and new men;  
The world advances, and in time outgrows  
The laws that in our fathers' day were best;  
And doubtless, after us, some purer scheme  
Will be shaped out by wiser men than we.

—LOWELL.

The highest and noblest endeavor of the leaders of thought is to-day bent on seeking the way for a closer brotherhood, a more perceptible blending between those whom social conditions and injustice have too long kept asunder: and a grander quest than this was never undertaken by belted knight.—H. W. CADMAN.

When the heart has become hot with the God-enkindled fire of love, it refuses to regard any class, however ignorant and degraded, as human rubbish. It looks down on no being for whom Christ thought it worth while to die. The essential dignity of human nature belittles the artificial distinctions of social rank. Caste can no more survive the awakening of the spirit of universal brotherhood than a night can outlive the sunshine.—JOSIAH STRONG.

They who seek to lift the works and institutions of men with visions of larger truth and assertions of wider justice are not destroyers, but builders; they make ready the way of the Lord into new redemptions of human life.—GEORGE D. HERBON.

Lift up your eyes and you may see another stadium of history advancing. Its aim will be to realize the Christianity of Christ Himself, which is about to renew its youth by taking to heart the Sermon on the Mount. He that sitteth on the throne is saying: "Behold, I make all things new." This earth is yet to be redeemed, soul and body, with all its peoples, occupations, and interests.—ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## IS IT OUR DUTY TO DIVIDE UP?

THIS is America. Ours is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. Every citizen has a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Our country is rich. Its natural resources are boundless. It could support one-half of the human race and have an abundance to spare. Our land is fertile and furnishes a large share of the food supply of civilization. Our climate is healthful, invigorating, and promotive of strength and energy. Our mines are rich in treasure. Gold and silver, iron and coal, oil and other minerals are stored up for the ages. We have granite and lumber sufficient to render exhaustion almost impossible. Our river courses and harbors are unsurpassed. Our manufacturing interests are in the front rank, and in progressive enterprise and inventive genius we lead the world.

America was intended to succeed. Before the foot of civilized man ever pressed her shores the elements of success swelled her bosom and filled her forests. Prosperity and plenty echo from her thousand hills, and peace and good-will here find their wonted clime.

No serious famine or long-continued pestilence has ever marred her history. No matter how desperately foreign foes have beaten upon our shores or how lavishly human blood has been poured out upon her soil to uphold her honor or preserve her name, through it all faith in her natural resources has remained unshaken. No matter how often the people have been made to suffer through their own transgressions or on account of man's inhumanity to man, they have never turned their faces toward heaven and uttered an unanswered prayer for bread. Her storehouses have garnered abundant harvests, her markets have let no real want remain unsupplied. As the magnificent

ruins buried beneath the surface of ancient and historic soil proclaim a great past, so do the rich and exhaustless treasures stored up in the bosom of our continent proclaim a great future. As an inspiration to material progress and to civilizing forces America has no parallel. Well has Emerson said: "America is another name for opportunity. Our whole history appears like a last effort of Divine Providence in behalf of the human race."

Under such favorable conditions the people not only have the right, but it is their duty to succeed. It is their duty to perpetuate, with sacred fidelity, every advantage and every blessing which unlimited opportunities and the best laws can insure.

It is the direct mission of the American people to see that injustice, oppression, enforced poverty, or unnatural riches find no resting-place here. Liberty has been bought and slavery has been banished at a great price, and the victories are worth the cost only when the benefits they bestow are placed within the equal reach of all. Whenever the just privileges of any one are cut off or the God-intended opportunities of any one are denied, there still exists an occasion for a patriotic and emphatic protest.

There is no genuine statesmanship excepting that which is enlisted in the interest of all the people. There is no patriotism that does not reverently stand ready to offer itself in behalf of a righteous and just cause. When poverty, debt, riches, oppression, crushing competition, industrial bondage, and the injustice and viciousness which they inevitably induce prevail in the land, and in the face of it all political corruption and unbridled greed flourish and intrench themselves, it becomes the imperative duty of the people to arise and demand that conditions be changed and the cause which produced them be removed, no matter by whom such action is opposed or against whose individual interests it may operate.

If it be true that these evils are due to the fact that the wealth of the nation has drifted from the possession of the many into the hands of the few; that this unnatural flow of wealth and property has been going on for years and steadily grows more and more rapid; that already 1,000,000 men own nearly the whole of the nation's wealth, and

at least 50,000,000 people have only a mere pittance, the highest sense of honor demands that a remedy be applied.

If it be true that the concentration of wealth into the hands of a few and the widespread prevalence of poverty and debt is the chief cause of the various evils which so burden and afflict our country, it is a conclusive proof that these conditions are a national calamity. Through the decline in values, the idleness of men, the depression in business, and the embarrassments of poverty during the past ten years a vast army of our people have suffered a loss the extent of which, from a financial standpoint, is scarcely surpassed by the Civil War.

So long as present conditions exist prosperity alone cannot bring permanent relief to the people. During recent campaigns prosperity or the lack of it has been given great prominence in political discussions. Its succeeding waves have been made the rallying-cry of party leaders and multitudes of voters have used it as their guiding star. Prosperity in spasms leaves the people worse off than it finds them. Succeeding eras of prosperity are, to no small extent, the cause of the present extremes of wealth and poverty. Out of prosperous times evolve the magnate and millionaire. Out of the interims of depression have come financial wrecks and the widespread reign of wage-earning. It takes both "bulls" and "bears" to make a Wall Street. Not only are prices forced up and down, but prosperity and panics are brought to pass by designing men. Nothing so favors financial extremes as flood and ebb tides of commerce and industry. The essential high art of modern financiering consists in taking advantage of prosperity and panics at the expense of those not so keen and far-sighted.

Extremes of wealth and poverty are a condition that is both a cause and effect. It may be the outgrowth of even good laws and natural causes, but the results to which it leads are all unnatural and vicious. *It is not so much the result of bad laws as it is the cause of them.* It is the source of political corruption and unjust oppression rather than the result of these things. When a few have all and the many have nothing, all that is accursed becomes incarnate. It is a condition which de-

fies correction itself and prevents normal activity in everything within the range of its influence.

It would be impossible to outlaw the forces which have created existing extremes of wealth and poverty. Both extremes are reached by a thousand paths. Honesty and fraud, energy and intrigue, acquirement and inheritance, genius and greed—things good and bad—produce both wealth and poverty. These operations of mind, ambition, chance, and human nature are entirely beyond the power of legal control. And it is well they are; because if all enterprise and human relations could be operated and controlled like one vast machine, it would be coercion, not liberty. Every man would wear a strait-jacket and goodness would become a law instead of a virtue, which is impossible.

So long as concentrated wealth is permitted to dominate, genuine reforms, either industrial, financial, political, or moral, are prevented. For two decades it has forestalled almost every effort in the direction of genuine progress. Politics has become the playground of wealth, and politicians, from the President down, are little else than its puppets. So long as this condition exists, the great octopus which strangles law and liberty will hold supremacy, no matter how diligently we may apply remedies in other directions. Should a divide-up be made, it would even then be difficult to enact laws and establish customs that would maintain desirable conditions in matters of wealth and poverty. To endeavor to grope our way back to that which is desirable through a wilderness of theories, ideal though they may be, is not only impracticable, but utterly impossible.

*To equalize wealth among the people is the first thing to do.* If this were done other reforms would be easy. It would break the ground for and bring within reach many measures and issues now both impracticable and impossible. The interests of the people would become mutual, and movements which now arouse intense antagonisms and are sure of defeat would then be favored with popular approval. The public ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and mines and the destruction of the liquor traffic would be easily accomplished, Our whole

monetary system could be reformed without opposition. If the Government should own the gold and silver mines, our national credit would be at once established throughout the world. The initiative and referendum would become a natural and welcome sequence of the new order of things.

The rich can enter no just plea against a divide-up and start-even. They have proven themselves entirely incapable of managing, to the best advantage, the wealth that they now legally claim. They have turned wealth into a curse rather than a blessing. It is the mission of wealth to be useful and active; to keep mind, muscle, and handicraft busy; to establish homes and promote education and morality; to render suffering unnecessary and actual want impossible. It is the duty of wealth to prevent hard times and poverty and to insure prosperity and plenty. It is its duty to lift all and oppress none. In a country like ours wealth should give to every one an opportunity and allow no one to wholly fail.

But in the hands of those who hold it wealth has utterly failed to do these things. The millionaire, as a rule, is a complete and disastrous failure. His talent of money-making is a peril; his charity a curse to his fellows. Wealth when concentrated in the hands of a few ceases to possess either conscience or sympathy, except in rare instances. It will invite panics and plan general destruction; it will devour its neighbors and starve their children; it will buy political power and social honor in the open markets, and corrupt legislation and disregard laws as though such things were only intended for swine.

Wealth will conspire against all else for its own profit; it will crush its rivals and deceive its friends; and if allowed full sway it will rule the earth with all the cruelty that heartless tyranny can conceive. Wealth in the hands of the few has ever been and will continue to be humanity's constant and relentless foe. Distributed equitably among all the people, it becomes their loyal friend and a chief factor of Christian civilization. Concentrated wealth and widespread poverty are antagonistic and cannot be reconciled. The condition is unjust, unnatural, un-Christian, and un-American.

An important lesson to be learned is that riches and poverty are much alike in that they are both abnormal. They are conditions to be equally deplored. That both conditions, in a most pronounced form, are rapidly on the increase is, perhaps, our greatest national peril. While concentrated wealth and diffused poverty represent extremes and stratify our social life, yet they are correlative and vitally connected. Only through the influence of the other does either exist. Only by a study of both can either be fully understood. Only by assailing both can either be subdued.

The best sociologists tell us that *poverty is a disease*. Few truths have been more boldly or more conclusively proven! In one of her most noted public addresses Frances Willard said: "Poverty is a disease; it is degradation; it has no right to be; and when men and women wake out of sleep and see themselves as the criminals they are, nothing in the world will be so sure of an actual extermination as the cursed thing called poverty—the cradle of crime, the father of filth, the mother of misery. In the past we have comforted ourselves with looking upon it as the effect of wrong-doing, but have now aroused ourselves to the study of it as a cause. We are determined to burn out, to its last infectious atom, the stench of the slums and the supreme temptations to a bad life with which poverty haunts the dreams of babyhood, handicaps the purposes of youth, enthralls the life of manhood."

But, like poverty, *riches is also a disease*. Its threatenings are as dire and its results are as deadly. Its symptoms are pathognomonic and arise from no other condition or cause. The miser is as much a victim of riches as the pauper is of poverty. The millionaire madly grasping for more is as much a cancerous neoplasm upon the body social as is the tramp who begs from door to door to appease his hunger. The unbridled ambition of avarice is as morbid as the apathy of the mendicant. It is the nature of poverty to enslave, but the slavery to which the poor must submit is no more abjectly servile than that imposed upon its victims by the rapacity of greed.

The poor we pity with a lavish sympathy, yet no less

pitiable and little less worthy of our compassion are those whose love is wedded to lucre, whose god is gain.

Concentrated wealth is more baneful in a nation like ours than poverty. Said one of the wisest of statesmen: "Monarchies are destroyed by poverty; republics are destroyed by wealth." His words are true. While poverty is the threatening foe of the empires of Europe riches is the menace most dangerous in our own land. So true is this that we might destroy all other existing evils and let riches prevail, and with it a tyranny despicable and cruel would remain.

It has been taught and widely believed that the indifferent and prodigal poor are beyond repair. The "submerged tenth," according to modern charity, are scarcely worth the effort required to save them. But their condition is no more hopeless than that of the "emerged tenth"—the very rich whose sympathies are selfish, whose affections are calloused by the love of gold.

Concentrated riches more than poverty is a progressive disease. It is active, aggressive, usurping, and dangerous. More than poverty has it defied law, forgotten God, and ruined nations. More than poverty has it palsied industry, degraded labor, and corrupted the ballot-box. More than poverty is it the hidden power behind corrupt legislation, the saloons, and the evils that curse our financial and industrial systems. More than poverty is riches a deep-seated organic lesion, poisoning and destroying the vital principles of our national life and threatening the integrity of the Government itself.

Another lesson to be learned is that concentrated riches, as well as poverty, is in need of destruction. The world has expected too much from the rich and not enough from its poor. The rich have been burdened with responsibilities, while the duties of the poor have been ignored. We would have the rich assume guardianship over the poor—make of the wealthy philanthropists in public and almsgivers in private. We forget that from among the common people, even from among the poor and oppressed, God calls His heroes and chief workers. Poverty is a great teacher. It has a nobler mission than making misanthropes of mankind. He who cowardly ignores the lessons poverty is wont to teach is as guilty as he who wastes his

riches in luxury and riotous living. Widely separated as the rich and poor are in many respects, in responsibility they are a unit. The poor man, as well as the rich man, is his brother's keeper. It is no more the duty of the rich to hold dominion over the poor than it is the duty of the poor to hold guardianship over the rich. Poverty more than wealth teaches men the needs of mankind. It is both futile and unfair to expect the rich as a class to heartily enlist in or wisely shape the course of any beneficent reform. The advent of doomsday is as promising. The divine rights of property will be as persistently defended as the divine rights of kings. It is as impossible for the rich to voluntarily give up their wealth or favor any measure that would jeopardize its possession as it would be for the royal potentates of earth to vacate their thrones and scatter to the winds the diadems that illumine their crowns.

The rich, in common with the poor, deserve our sympathy and compassion. More than the poor are they enslaved. They demand help. Meager, indeed, are the lessons learned by our statesmen until the needs of riches, as well as those of poverty, are pointed out and placed within reach. One-sided and impotent will political and social reforms and Christian charity remain until the fact is appreciated that both riches and poverty are twin evils to be overcome and subdued. As existing in our land to-day, concentrated wealth and diffused poverty are a common curse. Their existence forms a dominating national characteristic. Their perpetuation means the nation's peril. Their continued growth and influence will mean the nation's ruin.

Solomon classified riches and poverty together and prayed for deliverance from both. They are vitally associated evils; both ever-present symptoms of the same disease and can never be divorced. It is impossible to foster one without fostering the other. It is impossible to destroy one without destroying both. So long as a nation is the paradise of the rich it will remain the purgatory of the poor. Whenever the poor are given what justly belongs to them, it is inevitable that it be done at the expense of the rich. With certain limitations these results are inevitable. Through motives born of the noblest im-

pulse and through love, unalloyed and of the heart, is it the plain duty of the millions of common people in our land to demand that both riches and poverty, in their unnatural and unwarranted extremes, be speedily and effectually destroyed.

Thus viewed, a divide-up and start-even would not be a war between the rich and poor, but a conflict in behalf of both. It would be a warfare that has been waged over and over again—a warfare to secure human liberty and equality. Lincoln said that this nation could not continue half slave and half free. Nor can it. It matters little whether the slavery means fetters which bind men to the will of other men or fetters which bind men to the power of money. Mankind will not only revolt against slavery, but it will, with even greater protestation, revolt against the tyrannies of unjust and enforced inequalities. The love of liberty and equality is so great that while men may endure bondage and humiliation for a season, the time inevitably arrives when the passion for freedom and justice becomes so intense that it swells to the height of a fury. There is great truth in the words of De Tocqueville: "Democratic communities have a natural taste for freedom. Left to themselves they will seek it, cherish it, and view any privation of it with regret. But for equality their passion is ardent, insatiable, incessant, invincible; they call for equality in freedom; and if they cannot obtain that they still call for equality in slavery. They will endure poverty, servitude, barbarism, but they will not endure aristocracy."

By the close student of men and public affairs the opportune time for a radical reform in our customs and political conditions is seen to be rapidly approaching. While prosperity and adversity, in the form of riches and poverty, are both capable of proving of benefit, this benefit is only transient and is soon transformed into injury. The good effects of these opposite experiences are fast disappearing in our country. The rich have extracted all there is of genuine benefit from their possessions, and the reaction, in many instances, has already begun its work of ruin. To most of the rich the discipline of earning a livelihood would prove a real blessing. The masses, in turn, have reaped all the advantages that adversity and

oppression can bring. When either riches or poverty becomes an inheritance, a fixed experience from the cradle to the grave, the higher motives and best energies are seldom awakened. In one instance man is robbed of the need and in the other of the chance to exercise his natural talents and possibilities.

For a number of years we have been growing a crop, ever increasing, of two dangerous classes of men. One class, rich from birth, trained in luxury, isolated in society, poisoned with conceit, considering themselves superior in blood and finer in mind than the rest of the world, have lost sympathy and grown heartless, and are ready and willing to grind their fellows into ignorance and want to gratify their inherited and pampered appetites for indulgence and maintain their social dominion. The other class, born in poverty, grow up indolent, indifferent, and ignorant, neither trained in virtue nor disciplined in character, and, morbidly contented and apathetic, they settle like dregs to the bottom of our social life. These two classes are the counterpart of each other. They are both a constant menace to good government and they pollute society with conceit and luxury, calumny and hate.

But these classes are not yet large. The great mass of the people are patriotic and intensely loyal to the common good. Legions of them, schooled in adversity and economy, are, to a remarkable degree, prepared to appreciate and wisely use a just proportion of property. Taken as a whole, no people in the world were ever better prepared to respond to increased aims and opportunities. "Give the people an object in life," said Edward Everett, "and the best methods will infallibly be suggested by that instinctive ingenuity of our nature which provides means for great and precious ends. Give the people an object, and the worn hand of labor will be opened to the last farthing, that its children may enjoy means denied to itself."

While to divide up would be a new feature in the modern economy of nations, it is also true that our country must of necessity adopt new and untried methods in promoting and preserving the national life. It is an interesting fact that America is peculiarly situated regard-

ing the settlement of questions upon which citizens widely differ. The records of history show that irreconcilable differences have usually been settled, if settled at all, by the weaker side taking refuge in some remote land to avoid persecution and ignoble defeat. Thus from the beginning of nations the oppressed have "sought a new country," where more room and greater freedom abound.

But a new settlement of differences must be found. Mankind has populated its last refuge. Every river has been forded, every mountain climbed, and ships laden with expatriated exiles have spanned every deep. Following in the march of mankind the world's scepter has passed from Persia to Greece, from Greece to Italy, from Italy to Great Britain, and from Great Britain it has come to the New World. "Like the easter star which took its course westward until it stood still over the cradle of Bethlehem, so the star of empire, rising in the east, has led the course of empire until it stands still over our national domain, beckoning the people of earth to follow in its pathway." Beyond us is the Orient. The bridges back to the fatherland from whence we came are forever burned. There is no new country in which the oppressed or despised can seek refuge and liberty. Here, for the first time in human history, men are required to settle their differences face to face. It is a new epoch that confronts mankind. The oppressed and the oppressor, the weak and the strong, the poor and the rich are clothed with a new duty. Heretofore it has been the privilege of the oppressed to plead humbly for justice and the equal privilege of the oppressor to refuse it. But America has established a new tribunal, before which her humblest subjects may come and plead their cause. To-day it is the duty of the oppressed to demand justice, and it is the equal requirement that the oppressor manfully and honorably grant it.

These new and more intimate relations mark the advent of a higher type of citizenship. They demand that public differences not only be settled, but that they be settled right. They mean that civilizing forces have progressed and that duty and law have received a higher and nobler mission among men.



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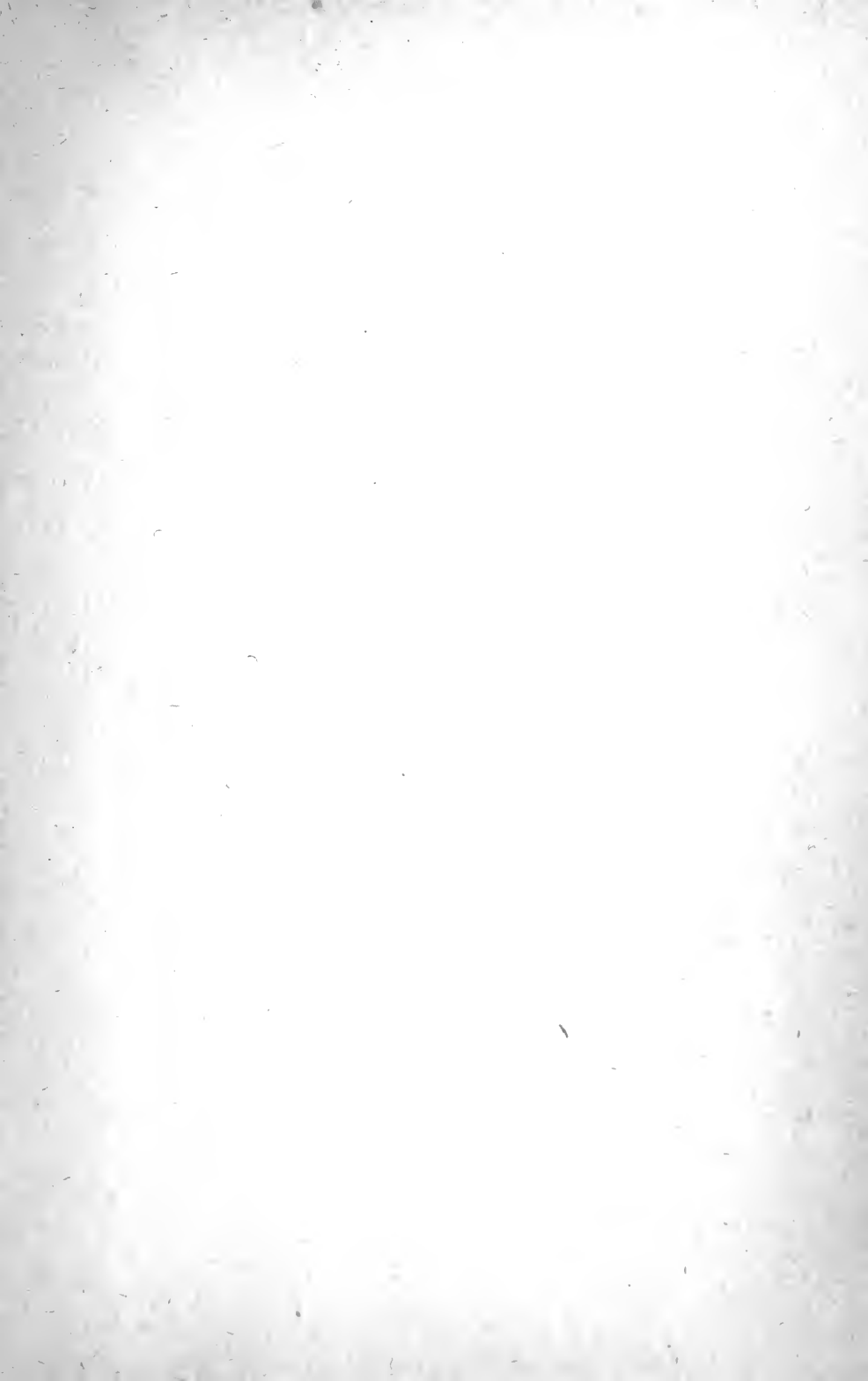
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